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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

GYPSY DELEGATION REFUSED VISIT--The Czechoslovak Government has forbidden a delegation of gypsies from attending the Third World Gypsy Congress, which opens Saturday, 16 May, in Goettingen in the FRG, a spokesman for the congress announced Wednesday. The 12 delegates, who completed all the necessary formalities, had nevertheless received assurances from the Czechoslovak authorities. [Text] [LD191431 Paris LE MONDE in French 15 May 81 p 4]

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

APRIL-MAY 1981 DOUBLE ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4-5 Apr 81 p 3

[Werner Mueller review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 4/5, April-May 1981, signed to press 13 March 1981, pp 321-512: "SED Has Proved Its Worth as Vanguard of Workers Class--Article by Erich Honecker in Double Issue of EINHEIT." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others, are published in pages following this review]

[Text] EINHEIT's double issue No 4/5, 1981, to be published immediately before the 10th SED Congress, leads off with an article by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, headlined "The SED--Marxist-Leninist Vanguard of the Workers Class and All Working People," written on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the April 1946 merger of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) into the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED). "We celebrate the 35th anniversary of the SED shortly after the 10th Party Congress, which convincingly manifests that our party proves its worth as Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the workers class and all working people before history," Erich Honecker writes.

He continues that in 1949 under the leadership of the SED the workers class established the socialist worker-peasant state, the German Democratic Republic, as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat. "We have never allowed anyone to encroach upon the power of the workers class. Even today the security, consolidation and defense of the power of the workers and peasants are and will remain the guarantee for our successful advance in shaping the developed socialist society."

Erich Honecker concludes his article by stating: "The path that the SED has traveled for 35 years is at the same time the road of victory for our Marxist-Leninist theory on German soil. Our struggle has never been an easy one, but our party has never shrunk from difficulties. It has always faced them and mastered them with the strength of its great collective, in close affinity with the masses. With this knowledge and the firm conviction that in socialism we have all advantages and the potentials to cope also with future demands, we will tackle the tasks which the 10th Party Congress will adopt."

In an article headlined "An Event of Global Importance," Hermann Axen, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, writes on the results of the 26th CPSU Congress. In his opinion, the decisions of the congress "are in line with the strategy of world socialism to build communism and socialism ever more successfully in a long-lasting period of peace and thus to give the cause of progress and peace a decisive superiority over the forces of imperialism and war."

In his contribution headlined "The SED---Leading Force in Improving Management and Planning," Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, points out that the basic prerequisite for success "is a Marxist-Leninist policy which proceeds from the demands of socialism's objective economic laws and aims at putting into effect all of socialism's advantages and driving forces for the benefit of the people throughout the entire society."

With "Reflections on the Eve of the Party Congress" Albert Norden, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, confirms--proceeding from the experiences of his own life which is closely linked with the cause of the party--that the struggle of the German Communists for a socialist fatherland has been successful in the GDR.

Harry Tisch, member and National Executive Committee chairman of the Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB), emphasizes in his article, headlined "Party, State and Trade Unions," that "the close, trusting relations between the party and the trade unions are a cornerstone in all stages of the SED policy, which serves the benefit of the workers class and the entire people."

Egon Krenz, Politburo candidate member and Central Council first secretary of the Free German Youth (FDJ), stresses in his article, headlined "FDJ Strength Through Party Guidance," that the history of our party and the history of the FDJ have unequivocally proved that the interests of the youth are identical with those of the workers class.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

HONECKER REVIEWS EVOLUTION, TASKS OF SED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 4/5, Apr-May 81 signed to press 13 Mar 81
pp 323-330

[Lead article by Erich Honecker, SED general secretary; chairman, GDR Council of State: "The SED--Marxist-Leninist Vanguard of the Workers Class and All Working People"]

[Text] The path traveled for 35 years under the proved leadership of the SED is the road of victory of Marxism-Leninism on German soil. The security, consolidation and defense of the power of the workers and peasants--the guarantee for our successful advance and basis for the enormous accomplishments achieved for the benefit of men, in the struggle for peace and socialism. The high domestic and foreign policy demands in carrying on the implementation of the course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy in the 1980's.

The unification congress that merged the KPD and SPD into the SED took place 35 years ago, in April 1946, in Berlin. It was an event of historic importance. By their symbolic handshake, Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl, amidst tempestuous applause from the delegates, put their seal to the surmounting of the split of the German workers class and the establishing of its unity on a revolutionary foundation. That conformed to the lessons of history and the requirements of social progress. Through the unification congress the decisive step was taken toward the development of a purposeful and cohesive Marxist-Leninist party, in close affinity with the masses, which the workers class needs to fulfill its historic mission.

Led by the SED, the workers class and the working peasantry in the GDR shattered forever the rule of the German haute bourgeoisie and junkerdom which had unleashed two world wars in our century. An alliance was established of all democratic forces based on the united revolutionary working class. In an integrated revolutionary process, and through harsh confrontation with imperialist reaction and its accomplices, the antifascist-democratic transformation was brought to realization and the socialist revolution was led to victory.¹

We celebrate the 35th anniversary of the SED shortly after the 10th party congress, which convincingly manifests that our party proves its worth as Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the workers class and all working people before history. For the good of men, in the struggle for peace and socialism, it has achieved enormous accomplishments in these three and a half decades. Under its leadership our people transformed its existence fundamentally and, by opting for socialism, gave a different direction and true meaning to its life. Bringing the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to realization in their native land, the dynamic and stable development of the GDR, the first worker-peasant state on German soil, means the culmination of the long and sacrificial struggle of the revolutionary German workers movement. Here we continue to shape the developed socialist society whereby we are laying the fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. The GDR is building the new, socialist Germany.

In those April days of 1946, a year after our people had been liberated by the victory of the Soviet Union and the other states of the anti-Hitler coalition over fascism, there arose, in the SED, the political force that was called upon and able to pilot the working masses into a new future. It embodies the traditions of the Communist League and of revolutionary German social democracy and carries on the work of the KPD and of the antifascist resistance struggle. Our party proves the heir to everything progressive in the history of the German people and carries on those compelling traditions.

The SED is indissolubly tied to the CPSU. It is a reliable component of the communist world movement and always meets its internationalist responsibility. In addressing the 26th CPSU Congress I once again underscored our fraternal action community with the party and land of Lenin. That party congress is brilliant evidence to the victoriousness of the cause of communism and its assured prospects. A mighty current emanating from it infuses the entire socialist community and the struggle for peace and socialism and for the peoples' national and social liberation. Standing by the side of the CPSU and the USSR means being all the more successful in constructing socialism's in one's own country and contributing all the more to solving the vital problems mankind is faced with today. That is an experience that cannot be effaced from our party's 35-year history.

The Crucial Fact: Seizure of Power

The founding of the SED was a working class victory over imperialism, a triumph of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism. The class and mass interest in this unity conformed with objective necessity, as expressed in the program document, "SED Principles and Goals." The unification congress resolutions adopted the ideas of the KPD Brussels and Bern conferences, the 11 June 1945 KPD appeal was extended, and account was taken of the experiences of the communist world movement, especially of the Soviet communists. SED strategy and tactics typically always proceed from the universal inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction which are creatively applied to the concrete conditions in our country.

With a full approval from the delegates, Wilhelm Pieck declared before the unification congress: "The 'principles and goals' not only set down our party's final socialist goal but also show the path the workers class has to travel to that goal. It is being explained there unmistakeably that the fundamental prerequisite for establishing the socialist society lies in the seizure of political power by the workers class."²

Furnished with this clear line, the workers class, led by the SED, in 1949 established the socialist worker-peasant state, the GDR, as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat. This state proved to be the most important instrument for eliminating capitalist exploitation and suppression and creating the foundations of socialism. We have never allowed anyone to encroach upon the power of the workers class. Even today the security, consolidation and defense of the power of the workers and peasants are and will remain the guarantee for our successful advance in shaping the developed socialist society.

"The SED goal," as our first party program document put it, "is the liberation from any exploitation and suppression, from economic crises, poverty, unemployment and imperialist threats of war. This goal, solving our people's vital national and social problems, is attainable only through socialism."³ That was of fundamental importance. By a demarkation of principle from all non-Marxist ideas of socialism, Otto Grotewohl emphasized: "Never again must false illusions be allowed to be aroused in the workers class. Never again must some piece of socialism be praised and advertised that amounts to nothing but some social reform within the scope of the capitalist economy."⁴

The unity of the workers class and its revolutionary vanguard formed the basis for the further development of the broad alliance with the working peasants, the intelligentsia and the urban middle-class strata. Through the democratic bloc of parties and mass organizations, the National Front, millions of citizens, most diverse in social origin and world-outlook, were activated for taking part in the work for the good of the people under working class leadership. Our country's citizens may take pride in saying of the GDR, their socialist fatherland, that it is their own work, the work of generations.

There is every good reason to say, 35 years after the unification congress, that the critics of the KPD-SPD merger in the spring of 1946 have been given the lie by history itself. Not to mention those who came up with their label "imposed unification" for the sole reason to disguise the fact that the coercive measures by the imperialist occupation powers and by German monopoly capital and its accomplices in what were then the western zones of occupation in Germany once again blocked the conscious workers' desire for unity. Since then the bourgeoisie has time and time again directed its sharpest attacks against this crucial workers class accomplishment, its revolutionary party. Thereby the class enemy aims at socialism and at any social progress altogether. What he hates and fears most is a united, strong, cohesively operating Marxist-Leninist party. It provides us with all the more gratification to be able to say that the policy of our party has proved itself in life and the unity between the party and the people is more solid than ever.

The SED is the acknowledged leading force in the successful construction of socialism, in solving the many different tasks our country is facing domestically as well as in foreign policy.

Theory Combined With Practice

Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement, as Lenin has taught us.⁵ At the same time it is important most closely to combine theory with practice. Marxism-Leninism, as one knows, is no compendium of ready-made recipes

but a guide to creativity. The touchstone for the scientific character of party policy lies in its applicability to the concrete situation in answering the questions posed by life. The SED has always determined its general line in conformity with that and has brought it to realization through trustful liaison with the workers class and all working people, relying on their confidence and strength. The social changes in the life of our people over the last 35 years prove this more convincingly than words alone could do so.

Our party policy's scientific character and solidarity with the masses find their expression especially in the course of the main task with its unity of economic and social policy. Since the eighth and ninth party congresses we have been bringing to realization the biggest social program thus far in the history of our people. It has set in motion the thus far broadest and deepest mass initiative for the all-round strengthening of our socialist GDR. SED policy, it turns out, conforms with the interests of all classes and strata and is of noticeable benefit to every individual.

By means of the socialist planned economy, the GDR successfully maintains its place among the ten most efficient industrial countries in the world. A high material and cultural standard of living, an advanced state of education, a meaningful intellectual life, and social security and safety characterize our people. The more socialism develops, the more noticeably economic achievements are converted into social advances. That conforms with the meaning of socialism and proves what achievements a people is capable of that has been freed from capitalist exploitation and is led by a Marxist-Leninist workers class party.

Our party, 35 years ago, had to concern itself with "providing work for all working people" and with "ensuring the vital needs of the broad popular masses in food, clothing, housing and heat."⁶ The imperialist enemy, mainly in the FRG, scoffed at it and said the SED could not do it. But he, it turned out, was totally incapable of properly assessing the strength of the united workers class. Through hard efforts and in constant confrontation with imperialism, our people has mastered all difficulties and made possible the rise of the GDR to those heights of social progress on which it finds itself today.

In view of the crisis, the massive unemployment, the increasing inflation, the social insecurity and subsistence anguish of millions and millions of working people in the capitalist countries, the superiority of the socialist social order is becoming more and more apparent. Only socialism can guarantee the working people security and safety, a steadily rising material and cultural standard of living, and clear prospects for the future. Among us, experience supports what people know, that they themselves, through their achievements, decide on how they live. That has a direct effect on their everyday activities.

Following the Main Task

Thanks to the achievements of the workers class and all working people, 1980 brought the greatest economic total result ever achieved in the GDR. Our national income rose by 4.2 percent, industrial commodity production under the industrial ministries, by 5.4 percent. Labor productivity improvement brought in 94 percent of our industrial growth. More than 90 percent of the increased labor

productivity in industry is due to the comprehensive use of science and technology, data. What now matters is to combine still more effectively the advantages of socialism with the results of scientific-technical progress to make possible an improvement of labor productivity that far exceeds the degree we are accustomed to.

The material-technical base of developed socialism has taken on further shape. The advantages of socialism have been used successfully for better coping with the qualitative factors of economic growth, especially with scientific-technical progress. That was called for by the requirements for the socioeconomic development of our country, all the more so since the foreign economy conditions have markedly changed.

The 1980's call for a strong improvement of economic efficiency in our country, fully under the aegis of socialist production intensification. Important prerequisites have been created for it. Our combines were set up and improved, and they play a key role in combining science with production. Essential inferences were drawn for the central management level.

Changes in the production structure of the GDR were set in motion which are oriented to the needs of the future. Modern data processing, microelectronics, robot technology and other progressive branches have been created, and they are soaring. Our energy economy reached a higher level. Of special importance is that the new requirements more and more inform the thoughts and acts of the people. The mass movement in preparation of the 10th party congress was governed in its objective and its entire character by the needs for socialist intensification.

Thus conditions were created systematically to achieve with greatest determination a higher level of the productive forces in the GDR. Economic development, mainly a growth in the national income, and the planned degree of economic efficiency altogether, are feasible only if we succeed in making extensive use of the most modern science and technology achievements. The ability of the economy in our country to conform to the needs of continuing social progress and the rank of our economy on the world markets depend on its products and procedures being based on advanced science and technology. Thereby we also meet the need to ensure a high economic growth over the long run while in fact energy and raw material resources remain the same. That is possible only if our production gets more highly refined through quality work and changes are made in its assortments and profile.

We must not underestimate the great demands placed on management and planning and on the creative and strenuous work done in the combines and enterprises. Work results of the past have created sound starting positions. Now the time has come to bring to realization the new quality of efficiency in our planned economy, in its full scope, which relies completely on scientific-technical progress.

Our party is firmly resolved to continue with purpose the course of the main task. That conforms with the basic economic law of socialism under the conditions of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in our country. In this, our housing construction program is and remains the core of our social policy. More than 169,220 apartments were newly built or modernized in 1980--82, 440 more than in 1971. It demonstrates how realistic our objective is to solve the housing problem as a social problem by 1990.

We have all the necessary prerequisites for confronting the high demands of the 1980's with success. Of inestimable value for it precisely also are our close fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community. Crucial importance attaches in particular to the GDR-USSR production specialization and cooperation program till 1990 on the basis of which the plans of our two countries are being coordinated for the years 1981 to 1985. In terms of the 1981 price level, deliveries agreed upon come to a volume of 58 billion rubles. Compared with previous years, this is an increase of 155.7 percent. Especially important for our country are the USSR promises of raw material deliveries. Their share in the total GDR imports from the Soviet Union amounts to more than one-third. And it is worth mentioning that in line with the price regulations in effect within CEMA we had to pay approximately only half for petroleum imports from the USSR in 1980 of what the petroleum corporations are asking.

Safeguarding the Peace the Central Concern

In the foreign policy field our party has in past years worked principally for strengthening the socialist community and consolidating its unity and cohesion. That is of fundamental importance to steadily adding to its weight and influence in the international arena. On that, after all, ultimately depends everything for the essential processes of our time, principally for the decision on the questions of war and peace. Peace is the supreme good of mankind. For us communists there is no greater ideal than safeguarding peace, not only today and tomorrow but for the future of many generations. Peace shall eventually become the normal form of life among the peoples.

Through the renewed peace initiative he announced at the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev presented a magnificent and realistic action program on coping with those problems which are most urgent at present. In an international situation perceptibly exacerbated by imperialism, especially by the most aggressive U.S. circles, the world once again hears from Moscow the voice of peace and reason, and of the willingness and call for constructive steps on behalf of detente, the ending of the arms race and disarmament. I declared at the 26th party congress in the name of the SED and the GDR people that we wholeheartedly support this Soviet initiative.

From the very outset our party policy has been aimed at sparing the peoples the danger of another world war, especially a nuclear one, whereby to achieve a permanent preservation of peace, and not only in Europe. We have done a lot that was constructive about it which has contributed to having our continent experiencing the longest period of peace thus far in our century. On the side of our Warsaw Pact alliance partners and their socialist military coalition, the GDR is doing all it can to see to it that the 1980's also will produce positive results for the benefit of detente. The main point is resolutely turning toward disarmament. Those who favor confrontation policy and seek to alter the military equilibrium in favor of imperialism must and will get their proper rebuke. In concert with the other states in the socialist community, our republic resolutely advocates the cause of peace, which includes the protection and defense of our revolutionary achievements at all times.

NATO's mobilization policy, especially its Brussels missile resolution, directly contradict the interests of the peoples. That places increasing burdens on them and constantly increases the danger of sliding into the abyss of a nuclear world war. Anyone who has eyes to see and brains to think will realize that the threat to humanity emanates from imperialism and its adventurous policy. "From the East" comes the offer for concrete accords on supplementing political by military detente and come such unilateral headstart achievements as, for example, the withdrawal of 20,000 Soviet soldiers, 1,000 tanks and other military equipment from the GDR.

There is no acceptable alternative to the peaceful coexistence among states with differing social orders. In this sense the GDR keeps seeking further advances and seeks developing its relations with the capitalist states, the FRG included. The set of European treaties and the Final Act of Helsinki have proved themselves sound foundations for shaping such relations, with a strict respect for sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and the nonintervention principle being of special importance. By revanchist doctrines alleging the "continued existence of the German Reich within the 1937 borders" and by unreal notions and constructs in violation of international law, which the FRG keeps resorting to, they only knock their heads against a wall of facts.

Europe must live in peace forever. It must not come to the point that the war-peace-war cycle, which finally could be broken by way of detente, gets started again. Talking about peace is not enough. Facts is what counts. That is the measure set by life itself. Any statesman has to stand up to it.

Our Party Kept Developing By Itself

Reviewing the time since the founding of the SED makes clear the great development our party itself has gone through. In all phases of its struggle it has met its responsibility as the leading force in society. This confirms that the growing demands placed on the leadership of the party keep asking for a higher and higher level of its ideological work. And we act accordingly.

As brought out impressively by the party elections, our party has further stabilized politically, ideologically and organizationally. It belongs to the people and it serves the people.

At present, workers make up 57.6 percent of the party membership. That has placed the highest proportion of workers in our ranks since the SED was founded. Based on firm class positions, the more than 2.1 million communists, organized within 78,677 basic organizations, are doing exemplary work for further consolidating our worker-peasant power, for securing the peace and enhancing the GDR's defense capacity. Our party, in conformity with its alliance policy, constantly reinforces the confident cooperation with the other friendly parties and mass organizations, in particular with the FDGB and the FDJ.

In the sense of democratic centralism the basic organizations are working hard on rigorously implementing the party resolutions and their own objectives and commitments in their campaign programs. And they abide by the principle that it is a matter of revolutionary honor to keep one's word. They act according to the principle that wherever there is a comrade, there is the party. The basic organizations

have noticeably gained in fighting strength and mass influence. More and more do they appear as uniformly acting fighting collectives and develop more strongly as centers for high political activity and confident relations with the working people.

The SED today has an army of prudent, tried and tested cadres who have proven themselves in the struggle, are loyal to the workers class and closely affiliated with the people. In great expertise, political far-sightedness and firmness in principles, they are doing disciplined work for the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. Their political maturity is of crucial importance for the realization of our goals.

The composition of the new executives elected in the party elections attests to the high educational status of the party cadres. The 2,578 members elected into the kreis management secretariats, for instance, all have graduated from universities or technical schools. Of them, 83.4 percent attended party schools. The political and technical skills of basic organization secretaries also have gone up further. Of them, 80.4 percent graduated from a party school and 64.5 percent, from a university or technical school.

Our party has always regarded as an important task to familiarize all members and candidates thoroughly and systematically with Marxism-Leninism and promote their skills in conveying our revolutionary ideas to the workers class and all working people. The party school year we have been conducting for decades has always made a considerable contribution to that. Marxist-Leninist cadre training and advanced training is served by a tried and tested system of party educational institutions, from the kreis and enterprise schools in Marxism-Leninism all the way to the Carl Marx Party College under the SED Central Committee.

Our party has done comprehensive theoretical, political-ideological and organizational work in direct preparation of the 10th party congress. Doing so it gathered, not the least during the party elections, new experiences of struggle and is in good shape for the 1980's.

The path that the SED has traveled for 35 years is at the same time the road of victory for our Marxist-Leninist theory on German soil. Our struggle has never been easy, but our party has never shrunk from difficulties. It has always faced them and mastered them with the strength of its great collective, in close affinity with the masses. With this knowledge and the firm conviction that in socialism we have all advantages and the potentials to cope also with future demands, we will tackle the tasks which the 10th party congress will adopt.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 6.
2. "Protokoll des Vereinigungsparteitages der SPD und KPD" (SPD-KPD Unification Congress Proceedings), JHW Dietz Successors publishing house, Berlin, 1946, p 85.
3. Ibid., pp 177-178.
4. Ibid., p 142.
5. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?" "Werke" (Works), Vol 5, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1955, p 379.
6. "Protokoll . . .," op. cit., p 176.

AXEN ANALYZES RESULTS, IMPACT OF 26TH CPSU CONGRESS

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 4/5, Apr-May 81 signed to press 13 Mar 81 pp 331-339

[Article by Hermann Axen, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for international relations: "An Event of Global Significance--On the Results of the 26th CPSU Congress"]

[Text] The historic range of the 26th CPSU Congress resolutions adopted with a view to the qualitatively higher demands and requirements of the 1980's and thereafter on the implementation of two interconnected basic tasks in Lenin's party and country: establishing the communist society and safeguarding peace. The mighty impulse emanating from the party congress for consolidating the unity of action of all revolutionary forces in the world. The GDR's cooperation with the USSR embracing all domains of public life and the higher level of unity and of the fighting alliance between the SED and the CPSU.

On 3 March 1981, the 26th congress of the CPSU, the highest forum of Lenin's party, completed its work. In the Congress Palace of Moscow's Kremlin, 5,000 delegates to the party congress and members of 123 foreign delegations, the SED delegation among them, rose and sang the "Internationale," this magnificent hymn of the revolutionary workers movement. All of us participants in this event were inspired and united by the awareness of the world historic importance of this 26th CPSU Congress.

The 26th CPSU Congress holds an especially important place among all the party congresses of Lenin's party. It adopted resolutions of historic range on the implementation of two interconnected basic tasks of the CPSU, for establishing the communist society and safeguarding peace, with a view to the qualitatively higher tasks and demands of the 1980's and thereafter. In terms of principle and concretely, the solutions for the newly matured enormous tasks in the struggle for communism and peace were set down in a creative, Leninist spirit:

Proceeding from a profound analysis of the Soviet Union's state of development, the next stretch of the track in the further advance of the developed socialist society toward communism was theoretically elaborated and practically determined. The starting point and end goal of the CPSU's economic and social strategy is and remains the program demand: everything for man, for the benefit of man!

Based on a clear assessment of all fundamental problems in international development, the party congress announced a new peace initiative of global significance. At a time when the most aggressive imperialist circles seek to spread their hysteria of arms race and war preparations, there sounds from Moscow, bearing the whole authority and weight of the Soviet Union, this appeal for peace, reason and circumspection.

The indissoluble connection of these two basic tasks, impressively worked out in the concluding speech of Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, expresses what is essential in the social nature of socialist society, its inherent real humanism and its historic superiority over capitalism.

Inspiring Prospects for the Development of Soviet Society

The 26th CPSU Congress will enter history as a party congress on the further perfecting and all-round advance of the developed socialist society, this indispensable, inevitable and lengthy time period in the forming of the communist society. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev affirmed in his CPSU Central Committee status report, caring for the well-being of the people is an objective inevitability receiving ever increasing dimensions in the developed socialist society, in the construction of the material-technical base of communism. It proves a decisive condition for the realization of the communist ideals.

The successes in the diligent work of millions of Soviet working people made it possible for the party congress to adopt a comprehensive and complex program on improving the standard of living for the new decade which embraces all important areas--individual and public consumption, housing, education, culture and sports, health and recreation. Important guidelines and components of this program are a faster rate of development for the production of consumer goods than for the production of means of production; higher consumption allocations out of the national income; further increase of wage labor and income, especially a rise in minimum wages and a faster income growth for kolkhoz farmers; increased benefits from social consumption funds to roughly 500 rubles per person annually; the preparation and purposeful implementation of long-range foodstuff and consumer goods programs, which will fundamentally improve public supplies; an increased turnover of commodities in the 11th Five-Year Plan by from 22 to 25 percent; an effective continuation of the largest housing construction program in the world; improvements in services everywhere; higher pensions and social benefits and a further improvement in the standard of living for war and labor veterans; much better health care; and a whole complex of measures to help families, mothers and children and young married couples.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev made the point at the party congress that in connection with the stably and dynamically developing economy the whole system of social relations and the socialist way of life are going to improve further. The party congress explained that in the superstructure of Soviet society important qualitative advances are going to be made in terms of the formation of a social homogeneity of the Soviet people. The new and significant changes in the nature of labor, concerning the activities of the workers as well as of the kolkhoz farmers and the intelligentsia, will lead to further rapprochement by other social classes and strata to the ideology, goals and ethics of the workers class. The soaring of the productive forces and changes in the character of labor are going to reinforce the process of surmounting the essential urban-rural differences.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's status report as well as the discussion speeches by many delegates gave vivid evidence to the ever increasing development of socialist democracy, the continuing rapprochement among nations and nationalities, the strong formation of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and of the socialist way of life, culture and ethics. From the results and tendencies of social development in the USSR the 26th party congress drew the significant conclusion that the formation of classless society would primarily take place within the historic framework of mature socialism.

The program for the economic and social development of the USSR, 1985-1990, turns out to be another mighty piece of evidence that real socialism, with respect to what has been practically achieved as well as to the grandiose criteria for its further social advance, clearly is the social system that is superior to capitalism while it is ever more comprehensively and speedily extending this historic superiority it has.

Resolute Transition to the Intensification of the Economy

L. I. Brezhnev in his status report called the "resolute transition to primarily intensive factors in economic development--focusing on improving the efficiency and quality of all labor" the crucial step in implementing the general line of the 26th CPSU Congress. Eminent importance attaches to this transition toward intensive economic growth, being not only the chief interconnecting link in further economic development but in the entire social development of the Soviet land as well.

Comrade N. A. Tikhonov compared this task, in terms of its historic importance and effects, with as crucial a transformation as that of socialist industrialization, which altered the face of the USSR from the bottom up. The nations know from their own experience how far-reaching the effects of the USSR's socialist industrialization on the international power ratio have been.

The course and goal of this intensive economic development were defined accurately in the main task for the 11th Five-Year Plan adopted by the 26th party congress: "The main task for the 11th Five-Year Plan consists of ensuring the further growth of the Soviet people's well-being on the basis of stable and dynamic economic development, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the converting of the economy to an intensive course of development, a more rational use of the country's production potential, the most thrifty handling of all resources, and the improvement of the quality of labor."¹

A solid foundation for the continued implementation of the main task lies in the enormous economic potential and its higher qualitative level, created by the Soviet society through strenuous efforts. National income in the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan rose by a total of R 400 billion, industrial production, by R 717 billion. The real income of the population in that period rose by 17 percent, and circa 10 million new dwelling units were built.

The party congress paid high tribute to the great advances made by Soviet society during the 10th Five-Year Plan. At the same time it pointed out how complicated the new tasks were and disclosed still existing inadequacies and defects.

The conversion of the USSR economy to intensive development, to be undertaken in the 1980's, is a process that revolutionizes all domains of public life. General and specific conditions lend objective necessity to it. The first and foremost of these conditions is the need, tied in with communist construction, to ever better satisfy the constantly growing material and cultural needs of the Soviet people.

The changeover to intensive economic development furthermore follows from the high level attained in the productive forces of the USSR and the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution. A rigorous changeover to intensification in the USSR also increasingly provides for the ways and means to extract, long-range, the enormous resources in the east and the high north. Concrete information given by the Siberian delegates at the party congress about the literally gigantic resources of their homeland demonstrated to all domestic and foreign participants that this bold program will create a raw material base that is adequate to communist society.

Apart from these fundamental objective factors in social development there are a number of other specific conditions aggravating this economic development. Man-power increments are in decline. Opening up new raw material and fuel deposits in the eastern and northern parts of the country is becoming more and more costly. Environmental protection becomes more and more expensive. Many enterprises have to be reconstructed all the way. In this context the party congress underscored the urgency of a comprehensive and rigorous modernization of the transportation system, of machine construction and of the communication system.

The more complicated conditions—as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his status report—also were affected "by the worsening world economic situation and the galloping inflation. The brake put on the detente process and the arms race imposed by imperialism also are a by no means minor burden on us." We deem it our duty to add to this: the Soviet people has performed and is performing not only the greatest pioneering deeds in the struggle for progress and peace but has also suffered the greatest sacrifices for them. The 123 delegations from all continents have unanimously confirmed that no other people on the earth has shown as much internationalist solidarity as the land of the Great October.

Solely the Soviet Union, the most advanced and powerful socialist country, can tackle such enormous tasks, which decide about the future, all at once. Karl Marx had, way back, proven scientifically that the elimination of capitalist production relations would burst the fetters on unconstrained productive force development. Ever more freely are unfolding the creative capabilities of the socialistically thinking and working people, liberated from capitalist exploitation, who form the most important productive force. These are the preconditions for successfully coping with all objective challenges connected with the social and scientific-technical revolution at a global scale.

The 26th congress worked out the concrete conclusions on how the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution are to be combined ever more rapidly and effectively with the advantages of socialism. The outstanding achievements of Soviet science were analyzed in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's status report and in speeches by the delegates, e.g., that of the president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Comrade A. P. Aleksandrov. While paying proper tribute to the brilliant achievements of Soviet scholars, engineers, technicians and workers, the 26th party congress, however, left no doubt that for more rapidly transforming science into productive force

an interaction between basic research and applied research and production, a much faster carry-over of science data into practice, must find more general acceptance as the crucial measure.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev called for a higher level of economic management and planning as a precondition for the changeover to the intensification of the economy. "All that must be done away with which makes the process that introduces this innovation difficult, slow and painful. Production must be vividly interested in faster and better applying in practice the fruits of thoughts and efforts by the scientists and designers. Solving this task of course is a difficult matter that asks for a break with obsolescent habits and parameters."²

As far as that goes, the 26th party congress then also called for a far-reaching change in the working methods of the state organs, mainly the State Planning Commission, the ministries and all economic management bodies.

The party-minded frankness and lucidity in which these problems were discussed at the party congress guarantee that the CPSU, with the revolutionary strength and determination characteristic of it, will accomplish the higher quality needed for the ideological-political and economic activity of the party, the state and the economy.

For Safeguarding Peace and Strengthening the Positions of World Socialism, of the International Communist Movement and of All Revolutionary Forces

"The 26th CPSU Congress convincingly proves," Comrade Erich Honecker declared in his address, "that the USSR is resolutely continuing its foreign policy, a truly humanistic one, based on the peace program of the 24th and 25th party congresses."³

The party congress drew concrete inferences from the main processes in international development--the growing strength of the Soviet Union and of the socialist community, the new victories in the peoples' liberation struggle, the narrowing of the imperialist sphere of supremacy, and the increasing aggressiveness and confrontation policy of certain imperialist circles.

The Soviet communists emphatically advocated a still closer union of the countries in the socialist community, further support for the liberated states' anti-imperialist struggle, and consolidating the international communist movement.

The party congress recommendations and guidelines on international politics, and for the struggle to safeguard peace and oppose the mobilization of arms, supply a concrete answer for those who incite war and nuclear catastrophe. With all its might the Soviet Union underlines that it advocates a thorough recovery of the international situation as the only reasonable alternative. The Soviet Union's proposals are apt to preserve everything that was positive in what was accomplished in the 1970's and to creating the preconditions for taming the arms race and giving new life to the detente policy.

The chief foreign policy goal of the Soviet Union continues to be the preservation and safeguarding of peace. The Soviet people, as Comrade Brezhnev remarked in his concluding speech, not only has the desire and political will for it, "but also a precise and accurate program."⁴

This program, its concrete expression being the new and far-reaching peace initiatives and proposals, is of a comprehensive character. It deals with political as well as military detente, with nuclear as well as conventional weapons, with ground, air and naval forces. It embraces all important regions with international tension--Europe and the Near and Middle East, the Far East and the Indian Ocean. It touches on the most complicated international problems and the most dangerous conflict situations. It discusses diplomatic steps and negotiations as well as new actions taken by the social forces, the popular masses. The Soviet Union's peace initiatives are realistic in form and content, acceptable to all and understandable even to people less interested in politics. They pick up a number of ideas and suggestions of capitalist states. They present to the world the real possibility to turn down the confrontation course and the dangers of thermonuclear war and give a new life to political and military detente.

For this reason, this peace program for the 1980's meets with an extremely broad positive response from all people in the world who are interested in peace, security and detente. The confrontation course whips are more and more being placed in the defensive, and in rage.

The Soviet Union's readiness for active dialogue on all levels--especially also with the new U.S. Administration--naturally is based on the irrevocable premise that no one shall be allowed to reach military superiority and conduct negotiations from a position of strength.

"The communists and all citizens of the GDR wholeheartedly support the new great initiative for the safeguarding of peace," Comrade Erich Honecker stated amidst the strong applause from the party congress delegates.⁵ That support finds its concrete expression in the GDR's resolve to fulfill in honors and under any conditions its task as the cornerstone of socialism and peace on its border with the imperialist FRG, on the dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact states.

The 26th party congress has documented that the unanimity of principle in the positions by the countries of the socialist community on all big problems in socio-economic development and international politics has further solidified. The course and outcome of the party congress are deeply pervaded with the truth, confirmed a thousand times, that the strength of the socialist community of states, the guarantee for its successes, in their unity and cohesiveness, relies on the time-tested principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Comrade Brezhnev said it was very important that deep mutual understanding, trust and agreement existed among our party executives. That is reflected by the meetings between the leaders of our parties and by the broad and manifold cooperation among the fraternal parties, from regular meetings of central committee secretaries to the contacts and ties among party organizations in numerous enterprises. This accord also is reflected by the Warsaw Pact and CEMA activities.

Proceeding from the urgent need to find still more comprehensive joint solutions for the main problems in the socialist countries' economic development, the party congress recommended supplementing the plan coordination by correlating all economic policy and further adjusting the structures of the economic mechanisms with one another. The CPSU advocates turning the 1980's into a period of intensive cooperation among the socialist countries in production, science and technology. The fraternal Soviet party thinks the time has come to discuss the great new problems in the fraternal countries' joint economic strategy and policy at a conference of their leading representatives.

An important task lies in paying careful attention to one another and in making a practical use of the rich experiences of the fraternal countries. It greatly honors our own party and all citizens of our republic that the CPSU central committee report made a special point of the GDR's fine experiences with the socialist rationalization of production, with saving energy, raw materials and working materials, as being important for the entire socialist community.

The Soviet communists corroborated their firm solidarity with the fraternal Polish party in securing the socialist development in Poland against the attacks from counterrevolutionary forces. As the most important lesson to be drawn from the development in Poland, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev formulated the following: "Where mistakes and misconceptions in domestic policy are added to the subversive activities of imperialism, the ground is laid for activating elements hostile to socialism."⁶

The 26th congress, showing the broadest international attendance thus far of any CPSU congresses with its 123 delegations from communist and workers parties and other revolutionary parties, turned into an inspiring manifestation of the affinity of the communists and all revolutionary forces with the CPSU, the strongest and most experienced segment of the international communist movement, the pioneer of social progress, the chief bastion of world peace. The deputies welcomed all foreign delegates in the traditional internationalist spirit of Lenin's party.

The ranks of the communist movement have grown still stronger; its influence on the masses has solidified. Comrade Brezhnev pointed to the complicated and manifold tasks facing the communists today who under the most different conditions are fighting for the communist ideals. While recalling Lenin's thesis of how imperative it is to pay attention to national specifics, to the variety in the roads to socialism, he placed what unites us in the foreground, the communists' joint and resolute struggle for peace and against aggressive imperialist policy. He paid tribute there also to the 1976 Berlin conference of the communist and workers parties of Europe and to the 1980 Paris conference as factors that have strengthened the communist movement's unity of action.

The party congress itself lent new mighty impulses to producing and fortifying our united action on the basis of socialism's peace strategy.

The 26th CPSU Congress confirmed once again the close alliance between socialism and the national liberation movement. The numerous delegations of national-democratic and revolutionary parties and movements familiarized themselves with the experiences of Lenin's party and in turn reported about the struggle of their peoples for national and social liberation, for peace and social progress. Thereby the party congress made an important contribution to uniting the main revolutionary currents of our times.

The CPSU's Growing Leadership Role

The course and outcome of the party congress convincingly demonstrated the greater leadership role of the CPSU in advancing Soviet society. Today the party is a "strong, healthy, ripe collective," as Comrade Brezhnev put it in his concluding speech.

The CPSU has 17,480,000 members, of whom 1.8 million were admitted since the 25th party congress, and 59 percent of these new members are workers. The party makes extremely high demands on the communists' political, technical and moral qualifications. It demands a sense of responsibility from them and discipline in proving that they restlessly seek for and side with innovations and show initiative everywhere and in everything. The party congress characterized the work with the people and the supervision of resolution implementation as essential for party leadership activity. The status report draws the inference that higher demands should be made on ideological-educational work and on responding with clearness of principle and with empathy to all questions people ask and to deal a decisive rebuke to any slander of socialism. In his concluding speech, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev announced: "The party's strength resides in its unity with the people! The people's strength lies in its unity with the party, in the leadership by the party!"

Proceeding from the enormous changes in the development of the Soviet Union and in the international field throughout the last 20 years, and from the experiences and insights gained during that period, the party congress decided that a new version of the party program is to be presented and promulgated at the 27th party congress. That will be another contribution to enriching the treasure of Marxism-Leninism.

Strengthening the Fraternal Alliance With Lenin's Party and Land

Since its founding the GDR has been fraternally affiliated with the Soviet Union. In all domains of public life, comprehensive and fruitful cooperation has developed. Examples are the intertwining of our two countries' economies, the enormous foreign trade volume of more than R 58 billion (computed in terms of 1981 prices) in the current Five-Year Plan, and the long-term production specialization and cooperation program till 1990. The centerpiece of this alliance lies in the close, comradely and trustful cooperation between our two parties, the SED and the CPSU.

The attendance of the SED delegation headed by SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker at the 26th party congress has deepened this fighting community between the SED and the CPSU. The delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress received Comrade Erich Honecker's address with great cordiality. Long-lasting tempestuous applause broke out when he said: "Our parties, states and peoples have become reliable allies and comrades-in-arms and friends. This fraternal alliance is the foundation of our successes. This has been so, is so and will always be so."⁷

Of crucial importance to preparing and conducting our own 10th party congress is the full conformity between the general line of the 26th CPSU Congress and the general line of our party for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and for creating basic prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism, and in particular the conformity of the main task as formulated by our eighth and ninth party congresses and the economic strategy and international policy of our party and state. The decisions of the 26th party congress are in line with the strategy of world socialism to build communism and socialism ever more successfully in a long-lasting period of peace and thus to give the cause of progress and peace a decisive superiority over the forces of imperialism and war.

The talks Comrade Erich Honecker held with Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and Comrade N. A. Tikhonov also were pervaded with such complete identity of views. The spirit of unity and friendship imbued all the cordial and unforgettable encounters and meetings between our delegation and the Soviet citizens in Moscow and in the city and surroundings of Leningrad.

There is every good reason to say that with the 26th party congress the unity and fighting alliance between the SED and the CPSU also reached a higher plain.

A study of the documents of the 26th party congress and of the rich experiences and conclusions of our Soviet fraternal party, which all communists and working people of the GDR are called upon to engage in, inspires new ideas and deeds in preparation of the 10th SED Congress and the implementation of its far-reaching decisions.

FOOTNOTES

1. "The Main Trends in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the Years 1981 to 1985 and the Period up to 1990," PRAVDA, Moscow, 5 March 1981, p 2.
2. L. I. Brezhnev, "26th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 59.
3. Erich Honecker, "Speech at the 26th CPSU Congress," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 8.
4. Leonid Brezhnev, "The Leninist Unity Between Party and People Is Invincible--Concluding Speech at the 26th CPSU Congress," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 4 March 1981, p 1.
5. Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 9.
6. L. I. Brezhnev, "26th CPSU Congress . . .," op. cit., p 14.
7. Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 10.

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CSD: 2300/231

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

TISCH ON TRADE UNIONS' 'GROWING AUTHORITY' IN SED-FDGB RELATIONS

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 54, 7 Apr 81 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "SED Reproaches West Over Poland: Polemics Against Free Trade Unions and Against Any Opposition." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Excerpt] In another article, EINHEIT (No 4/5, 1981) emphatically opposed the establishing of free trade unions like the Polish "Solidarity" in socialist states, evoking Lenin who had led an "implacable struggle" against anyone "propagating views hostile to socialism in the trade union question." He had even in his time harshly taken to task anyone "advocating the so-called free trade unions--trade unions, i.e., whose 'freedom' and 'independence' were to consist in their neither bearing any responsibility nor developing any initiatives for the fulfillment of the overall social tasks and for the construction of socialism and communism." This basic issue at present also stood "in the center of the eager efforts by reaction to return to the agenda the slogan of 'free' trade unions, 'independent' of the working class party and the proletarian state." EINHEIT alleged that the worry about the freedom and independence of the trade union in socialist countries was put forth by those forces "which in places where they have the power could not guarantee the workers the most elemental human rights, such as the right to work." In the GDR, on the other hand, there was nothing that could be decided without also listening to the trade unions. Sure enough, "problems do occur" in the cooperation with the government, the state organs and the enterprises but they were being "settled for the benefit of the workers class and all working people."

GDR Trade Union Chief's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 4/5, Apr-May 81 signed to press 13 Mar 81 pp 354-361

[Article by Harry Tisch, member, SED Politburo; chairman, National Executive Committee, Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB): "Party, State and Trade Unions"]

[Text] The close, trusting relations between the party and the trade unions are a cornerstone of the political power of the workers and peasants. They let themselves be guided by the thought that permanent results in the representation of trade

union interests are possible only when everyday tasks are indissolubly combined with the struggle for socialism, state power lies firmly in the hands of the workers and farmers and the leadership role of the working class party is made to prevail in the trade unions. On that basis our trade unions in the socialist GDR find the greatest field of action known in the history of the German workers movement and have they been able fully to represent their interests on behalf of the working people.

When the 10th SED Congress was summoned, the trade unions, in the name of their nearly 9 million members, gave this affirmative answer: "The FDGB will take part with all its strength in the extensive preparations for the 10th party congress. For every unionist it is a matter of honor to act in accordance with the principle: 'Everything for the 10th party congress! Everything for the good of the people!'"¹ The focal point for us has been to reaffirm through the results of trade union work the fighting community between the SED and the FDGB and to strengthen the GDR in every way through having every unionist fulfill his demanding tasks. Throughout a truly historic process the FDGB has turned into such an active and influential force that deliberately helps shape our society.

The close, trusting relations between the party and the trade unions are a cornerstone of the political power of the workers and peasants in our country in all stages of the SED policy, which serves the benefit of the workers class and the entire people. It was entirely in that sense that Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, affirmed in his speech before the bezirk activists in Gera: "Our party knows the FDGB, the millions of trade unionists, constitutes an enormous power, and our trade unions are genuine schools of socialism."²

The fighting alliance between the party and the trade unions is rooted in the class struggles of the German workers movement, takes account of the lessons of the past, and has counted among the great political impulses of the successful path of the GDR from the time that it was founded to this day. Thereby our party brings to realization an essential aspect of Ernst Thaelmann's legacy. He regarded the KPD's trade union policy as the most important question of its mass policy because it controls the relationship of the party to the masses.

The founding of the SED in April 1946 met with the elemental needs and interests of the workers class and the FDGB that had just been created. At the unification congress Wilhelm Pieck declared that the unification of the two workers parties would more than ever also consolidate the unity of the trade unions and thereby make their struggle for the benefit of the workers class successful.³ That unification congress and the SED's development into a Marxist-Leninist party also formed the starting point for generating qualitatively new relations between the SED and the FDGB. In particular, the SED's Marxist-Leninist trade union policy was an essential basis for the FDGB's being able to make decisions of historic scope at its third congress in 1950. For the first time in the history of the German workers movement, the trade unions declared their goal to be the establishing of a socialist society. That logically implied an allegiance to the world-outlook of the workers

class, Marxism-Leninism, and to recognizing the leading role of the party of the workers class, the SED. Affirmed was the friendship with the Soviet Union and so was the loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The trade unions' degree of political-ideological maturity also was reflected by the position the congress took on the founding of the GDR. It was defined as a state that embodies the power of the workers class and through its policy works for peace, democracy and the well-being of the workers class.

These unequivocal positions on our sociopolitical outlook and on the first worker-peasant state on German soil confirm that the revolutionary continuity of the relations between the workers class party and the trade unions in the GDR found its most comprehensive expression in their joint victorious struggle for rendering imperialism and militarism impotent and for conquering state power and constructing the socialist society.

The more than 100-year history of the revolutionary German workers movement had not been unproblematic until then. Through tough and often complicated conflicts it had also been necessary to settle fundamental problems of principle in the trade unions. The conflict about the trade unions and their relationship with the revolutionary party also reflect through all periods in the history of the workers movement--and especially since it entered the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolutions--the struggle between scientific socialism and opportunism. By applying the doctrines of Marx and Engels, Lenin, through his doctrine on a new type of party, also created the principles for a new quality of relationship between party and trade unions. In confrontation with bourgeois ideology and its appearance in an opportunistic garb within the workers movement, he showed: "The class interests of the bourgeoisie inevitably lead to the desire to confine the trade unions to closely limited petty efforts on the ground of the existing order and to keep them apart from any contact with socialism, and the neutrality theory is the ideological garb of such bourgeois desires."⁴

As is well known, there was no lack of enemy attempts among us either after 1945 to drive a wedge between the workers class party and the FDGB. Struggling against the "neutrality" notion about the trade unions, the SED members in the trade unions did much indoctrinating. The main thing that mattered was to make perfectly clear that permanent results in trade union representation of interests where possible only when everyday tasks were indissolubly combined with the struggle for socialism, state power was firmly in the hands of the workers and farmers, and the leadership role of the workers class party was made to prevail in the trade unions. This ripening process of the trade unions as an active force, deliberately shaping society on the basis of our party policy, went hand in hand with the assumption of political and economic tasks that were completely new in the history of the German trade union movement. Thus, in the struggle for making social progress prevail, and especially also through their own positive experiences the working people in the trade unions had gathered since the founding of the SED and through the implementation of party policy, it was possible to overcome the anti-labor theory on trade union neutrality. In its outcome, not only was the irrevocable and indestructible foundation of the firm relationship of trust between our party and the trade unions vested as a crucial capacity within our workers and farmers power, the unity and cohesiveness of the FDGB and of its industrial unions and labor unions also solidified. So the FDGB also represented a strong social force in terms of organization.

The program pronouncements of the Third FDGB Congress manifest the decisive lessons learned from the past history of the German trade union movement. Resolutions adopted about end and means determined the role and tasks of the trade unions in helping implement with energy, alongside the Marxist-Leninist party and under its leadership, the historic mission of the workers class in the GDR. That was, not least, also supported by that in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of our society at that time such fundamental demands of the tradition-rich trade union struggle of the workers people also were brought to realization on German soil for the first time as the right to work and full employment, the granting of equal wages for equal work, the promotion of women and youth and other such matters.

Recognition of the Leading Role of the SED--Basis for Successful FDGB Work

The extensive and thus far biggest mass initiative throughout the history of our country in preparation of the 10th SED Congress has once again vividly demonstrated the unshakeable trusting relations between the party and the people. On that all successes achieved thus far are based and so is the firm confidence that the demanding tasks of the present and future will be mastered. "The most important thing is," as Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, has stated, "consistently to carry on with all the people and all the working people the implementation of the policy for the good of the people as decided by the ninth party congress."⁵ Trade union activity significantly affects the party ties with the entire class and all the people. Lenin it was who described the importance of principle in that by stressing "that the trade unions establish the ties of the vanguard with the masses and through their everyday work convince the masses, the masses of that class, that is to say, which alone is able to take us from capitalism to communism."⁶ As the biggest class organization in the GDR, the trade unions also are mass organizations. Right now the FDGB holds in its ranks 97 percent of the workers and employees and members of the intelligentsia, and by far most of them are not party members.

The party exercises its leading role in the trade unions mainly through the work of the communists in the trade unions, through their doing exemplary trade union work. The SED program emphasizes that the convincing and exemplary work of the communists in the FDGB is a crucial factor for the trade unions' being able to fulfill their responsible tasks in the shaping of the developed socialist society. In the sense of Lenin, who consistently advocated that party members should become trade union members too, the SED statute obligates all comrades to do active work in the trade unions. Their task is always to explain party policy aggressively and cogently, take a mobilizing lead in its consistent implementation, and to combine the political struggle for the all-round strengthening of the GDR through dynamic economic efficiency improvements most closely with representing the interests of the working people in improving their working and living conditions and tenaciously to back the realization of their recommendations and suggestions. Such fighting positions and modes of conduct strengthen all trade unionists' confidence in party policy and enhance their readiness to dedicate themselves consciously and energetically to making it prevail. In its trade union policy the SED always proceeds from the consideration that the trade unions operate as independent organizations under their own responsibility. The communists' work in the trade unions is based on political indoctrination and on setting examples. It knows of no tutelage or regimentation.

With the decisions taken at the eighth and ninth party congresses, the party program, and the implementation of the main task with its unity of economic and social policy in the 1970's a new phase began in the relations between the party and the trade unions. It is marked by the further shaping of the leading role of the workers class and its party, the strengthening of the fighting community and of the trusting and creative cooperation between the party and the trade unions, and the growing authority of the FDGB. In this process the trusting relations deepened between millions of working people and the SED, its central committee and its secretary general, Comrade Erich Honecker. The trade unions started the thus far most successful period of their work at that time.

Trade Union Policy Serving the Good of the Working People

The important advances are recognizable above all in the smooth implementation of the main task policy which the Ninth FDGB Congress defined as the best representation of trade union interests. The considerable share the trade unions have had in making our economy more efficient and, due to it, in the implementation of the thus far biggest sociopolitical program in our history, is apparent. The extensive sociopolitical measures adopted to that end largely crystallized in resolutions taken jointly between the SED Central Committee, the GDR Council of Ministers and the FDGB National Executive Committee. As an example it may be pointed out that the measures of the joint resolution of 27 May 1976 on a continuing systematic improvement of the working people's working and living conditions from 1976 to 1980 have been fully realized. That refers, to mention but a few points, to the increase in minimum wages, the implementation of the performance-oriented wage policy, the further improvement in pensions and social benefits, and measures for the gradual introduction of the 40-hour work week and extended vacations. The social insurance benefits for workers and employees, of which the trade unions have been in charge, have doubled in the last decade. Mother and child benefits improved several times during this period, and there were many pension increases. All that was accomplished while the mandatory social insurance contribution of 10 percent of contribution required income up to M 600 per month, unchanged for the last 30 years, was held steady. Thus all working people can see how good work benefits the entire people and each individual.

The political reputation and overall social influence of the FDGB have risen to a new level. Unprecedented forms and methods--such as the joint resolutions--were prepared through cooperation and proved themselves. Social recognition, however, is no free gift. It has to be acquired by performance and quality work and constantly requires renewed confirmation in the struggle for the implementing of party policy.

By preparing the 10th SED Congress, the trade unions gained further in authority. Organizing and conducting our socialist competition has a great deal to do with it. Constructively and with rich ideas the trade unions have with great elan dedicated themselves to creating optimum conditions for successfully carrying on the party policy with its affinity with the people and being focused at the preservation and safeguarding of peace, as it conforms to the requirements of the 1980's. The smooth implementation of the program for full employment, the people's prosperity, growth and stability requires, mainly by spreading mass initiative through socialist competition, ensuring increased economic efficiency in new dimensions, so as to secure the standard of living obtained and, with it, raising the people's material and cultural standard of living in the future. The trade unions therefore do all they can to conduct their socialist competition by following the model of the

working people in the VEB Carl Zeiss Combine Jena. In line with the highest plan for 1981 its objective is to work up one percent of targeted industrial commodity production above the plan on a priority basis through conserved material and energy and, of it, account for a one-day production prior to the 10th SED Congress. Where in the enterprises the union group spokesmen plenary have taken competition resolutions at the start of the year conforming with the requisite steep improvement of labor productivity and the dynamic development of our economy by concrete labor efforts. They persuasively demonstrate the firm intent of the working people to dedicate all their strength to economically strengthening our socialist homeland.

The more than 2 million volunteer functionaries of our organization--chosen through preliminary elections--have an outstanding share in the increased understanding that only that can be consumed which first has to be produced. More than 1.3 million of them are active in the trade union groups. It is mainly the trade union spokesman who, through personal political discussions within the work collective every day, in lively trade union meetings and in the schools of socialist work, do responsible work that must be highly recognized. Always and everywhere it is a matter, as it has always been our principle, to involve the entire class, all the working people, in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, and to induce them to work with us consciously and energetically. Direct exchange of ideas and opinions is the best way for any trade union functionary for concretely and with discrimination explaining the party's overall policy and also for acquainting himself with the questions and problems that affect the working people.

All that is done with the idea to carry on our policy, aimed at the good of the people, under the more intense and complicated international conditions, which requires further improvements in the economic efficiency of our socialist fatherland. At the same time that is an important contribution the GDR is making to strengthening all-around the socialist community as a reliable member of it and further increasing its weight in the international class conflict and the attractiveness of real socialism. In all this, the recognition and enforcing of the leading role of the working class party and the indissoluble fighting community between the SED and the FDGB is and remains the guarantee for effective work by the trade unions as schools of socialism in the interest representation of the workers class and all working people.

Consolidation of Socialist State Power

The socialist workers and farmers power in the GDR is the stable foundation for everything the workers class, led by the Marxist-Leninist party and in alliance with all working classes and strata, has accomplished for making our time secure and for our prospects in peace and social security. Our country and its development provide eloquent testimony to that socialism has won on German soil forever and irrevocably. This we have been able to accomplish because we have always and on principle reinforced and secured the workers and farmers power and not allowed anyone to encroach upon it. This standpoint defines the attitude of the FDGB and of the millions of working people organized in it on the power question in the past, present and all the future because they have learned from the class conflicts in which their forefathers and fathers were engaged and have recognized, by way of their own direct experiences, that the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party and the workers and farmers power are the crucial guarantee for their peaceful socialist present and secure communist future.

The fundamental identity of views between the trade unions and GDR state power has its basis in the class premise they hold in common. The socialist state is the greatest political accomplishment of the workers class. The trade unions, in turn, constitute the most comprehensive organization of the workers class that rules, exercises power and owns the means of production. From that result our joint tasks and goals, our appearing "not only as builders of our economy but also as forces that constitute the state."⁷

Lenin, typically, paid much general attention in his theoretical and practical work to the place of the trade unions within the political system of the new social order. In establishing the new role of the trade unions and elaborating their fundamental tasks after the triumph of the proletarian revolution, Lenin also engaged in implacable struggle against all who would propagate notions hostile to socialism in the trade union question. He harshly took to task anyone advocating so-called free trade unions at his time, trade unions, i.e., whose "freedom" and "independence" were to consist in their neither bearing any responsibility nor developing any initiatives for the fulfillment of the overall social tasks and for the construction of socialism and communism. "In reality, however," Lenin wrote, "that notion has been and remains a bourgeois provocation of the grossest design or a great stupidity, a slavish repetition of the slogans of yesterday, an application of the slogans of the old trade union movement to the present era, and thus a departure from the socialist tasks of the workers class."⁸

This basic issue at present also stands in the center of the eager efforts by reaction to return to the agenda the slogan of the "free" trade unions, "independent" of the working class party and the proletarian state. The "worry" about the "freedom" and "independence" of the trade unions in socialist countries is put forth by those forces which in places where they have the power cannot guarantee the workers their most elementary human rights, such as the right to work. Yet where that cannot be there one also will find neither freedom nor social safety. In the capitalist world the trade unions have no rights that would ensure their effective participation or chances to prevail in the shaping of state policy, for economic development and in public life on the whole. Freedom—for whom and for what, that is and remains a class question. For a truly free trade union activity committed to the well-being of the workers class and all working people, none but the socialist state grants extensive rights. And that, of course, also implies the assumption and conscientious fulfillment of duties.

The GDR trade unions are a Free German Trade Union Federation not only by name. Since being founded they actually are free and independent since no one may confine or obstruct their activity according to a principle in our Constitution. Article 44 of the GDR Constitution states: "The free trade unions, united in the FDGB, represent the interests of the workers, employees and members of the intelligentsia through an extensive participation in managing the state, the economy and the society." Answering any questions in the shaping of our socialist society, the management and planning of our economy, the implementation of the scientific-technical revolution, the development of working and living conditions, health protection and labor safety, and intellectual-cultural life requires authoritative participation by the trade unions--so it is stipulated by our Constitution. Trade union representation of interests embraces all domains in the life of the working people. Thus there is nothing without concern to the trade unions, nothing that could be decided without

their being listened to. And this is by no means a passive process. The responsibility of the trade unions for structuring the proportions between performance and wages, for the material and moral inducements for work performance, for the development of our social policy and also in as crucial a field as that of vacation arrangements directly demands of them that they make suggestions, develop initiatives and actively take part in decision-making and in the implementation of rules set down. All experiences confirm that sound labor policy implies effective cooperation between the socialist state and the trade unions.

An essential factor in the constructive cooperation between the trade unions and the state is the unity between central state management and creative mass initiative, between democratic centralism and the spreading of socialist democracy, especially by developing vivid membership activities in our organization. A persuasive expression of that is the plan discussion annually organized by the trade unions within the enterprises and combines. Trade union participation extends via the participation by the chairmen of the labor unions and trade unions in plan preparations by the ministries concerned all the way to working on the economic draft plan within the presidium of the FDGB National Executive Committee. There, this document, prior to being submitted for decision-making, must be examined by the State Planning Commission. From enterprise trade union headquarters all the way to the Executive Committee, trade union positions are repeatedly offered on the draft plan, which is part of its being under discussion. Constructive state - trade union cooperation is guaranteed from the government to the brigade level, from the state plan to the enterprise collective contract. The trade unions, proceeding from common class interests and political goals, fulfill specific tasks in this. They implement their partnership in the exercise of power by the workers class and its allies concretely, to a large degree, through their cooperation with the government and state organs. There, as well as in the enterprises and combines, problems do occur. That is only natural. What is decisive, however, is that they are tenaciously being settled by the trade union functionaries for the benefit of the workers class and all working people.

Then there is more cooperation between the trade unions and the state by means of the activity of the deputies nominated by the FDGB. Since the founding of our state there has been an FDGB fraction in the People's Chamber. With 68 deputies and 22 successor candidates right now, it is the second strongest in it.

And then there are--from the community councils to the bezirk assemblies--more than 33,000 deputies and more than 13,000 successor candidates appointed by the FDGB. The FDGB's right to sponsor legislative initiatives is vested in the GDR Constitution. That was exercised in 1977, for example, with respect to the labor code. After extensive discussions of the draft within the trade unions, the GDR labor code was promulgated as law by the People's Chamber upon being so proposed by the Ninth FDGB Congress.

The trade unions' active role and important influence in our state are, not least, expressed in that we can primarily represent the interests of our members at the places where they work--in the enterprise, right on the job. Free trade union activity in material production, the crucial area of our social life, is an accepted fact for the FDGB. Precisely this basic principle of our trade union work cannot be realized in any capitalist country because capitalist production relations militate against it.

In the fourth decade of its existence, the FDGB has every good reason to affirm: never before could trade unions represent their members' interests on a basis of principle and as extensively as in the socialist GDR. They enjoy the broadest field of action here that is known in the history of the German workers movement. The FDGB has always taken it for granted that the struggle for peace is the most fundamental task in trade union interest representation because only in peace can there be permanence and can there be a future for everything we produce for the well-being of the workers class and all working people, for their existence in happiness. Our trade union contribution to preserving and securing peace and the comprehensive moral and material solidarity we perform in the spirit of proletarian internationalism are fully in line with the policy of the SED and of our worker-peasant state. That is an important source for our strength and confidence. The FDGB is certain that on the next stretch of the road in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, leading to the creation of fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism, which will be charted by the 10th SED Congress, the relations between the party, the state and the trade unions will continue to flourish and their vitality will grow.

FOOTNOTES

1. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 30 May 1980, p 2.
2. Erich Honecker, "On Topical GDR Domestic and Foreign Policy Issues," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 October 1980, p 5.
3. Cf. "Protokoll des Vereinigungsparteitages der SPD und der KPD" (SPD-KPD Unification Congress Proceedings), JHW Dietz Successors publishing house, Berlin, 1946, p 18.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Neutrality of the Trade Unions," "Werke" (Works), Vol 13, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1963, p 474.
5. Erich Honecker. loc.cit.
6. V. I. Lenin, "About the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and Trotsky's Errors," "Werke," Vol 32, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 3.
7. V. I. Lenin, "Speech at the Fourth All-Russian Clothing Workers Conference," "Werke," Vol 32, p 112.
8. V. I. Lenin, "Original Draft of Article on the 'Next Tasks of the Soviet Power,'" "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 205.

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SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY SEEN INCOMPATIBLE WITH PLURALISM

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 56, 9 Apr 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED: 'No Freedom for Antisocialist Activity.'" A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The SED now has warned against seeking to undermine "socialist power" by means of the thesis of "freedom of intellectual efforts." In its most recent edition, the theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 4/5, 1981) remarked there was "no provision for freedom for antisocialist activity" in the socialist legal order. Nor would that "ever have any place" within socialist democracy in practice. EINHEIT emphatically asked for a "steady reinforcing of the power of the workers class vitiating any counterrevolutionary designs at disruption, else there would be no way to speak of stable political, economic and social development and thus of further advances in the perfecting of socialist democracy."

Official SED View

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 4/5, Apr-May 81 signed to press 13 Mar 81 pp 426-432

[Article by Prof Dr Klaus Heuer, jurist, political researcher, SED Central Committee: "Vigorous Socialist Democracy Becomes a Reality in Creative Action"]

[Text] The principles of socialist democracy and its characteristics and the inseparable unity between socialism and democracy are presented. By way of facts and experiences the characteristic features of the work of socialist people's representations are brought out and it is shown that socialist democracy, due to the implementation of the eighth and ninth congress resolutions, is developing successfully and further improving. By taking issue with the ideology of pluralism, its anticommunist thrust is demonstrated as is the superiority of socialist democracy to any form of bourgeois democracy.

Socialism and democracy belong together indissolubly. This elementary fact derives from the nature of socialism, from its meaning the political rule of the workers class and public ownership in the means of production being, on that basis, the conscious effort of millions of people. The proletarian revolution abolishes the condition where a minority of society, because of its economic power, can also exercise the political and intellectual domination over the vast majority of society. A fundamental change takes place in the relations between the individuals and the working classes and strata with society as a whole and with the state. Identity of personal and social interests based on public property and the setting up of the worker-peasant state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which represents the interests of the entire people—that is the basic condition for democracy to be able to develop, for the first time in history, on the broadest foundation and in all public domains.

Our party has always conceived of the struggle for socialism as a struggle for establishing true democracy for the people. At the cradle of the KPD there stood the Spartacus League program Rosa Luxemburg had designed, which with but insignificant amendments was adopted as the party program at the constitutive KPD congress. Already this first important document of the revolutionary party of the German workers class states: "Supplying the compact working popular mass with all political power for the tasks of the revolution—that is the dictatorship of the proletariat and, therefore, the true democracy."¹ And no sooner had this program been promulgated than, once again, Lenin would voice the communists' position on the relationship between democracy and the proletarian revolution. The proletarian revolution, he said, was the transformation of democracy "from a lie into truth, the liberation of mankind from the chains of capital which has distorted and confined any, even the most 'democratic' and most republican, bourgeois democracy."² The history of socialism has convincingly confirmed those predictions. "Socialist democracy," as Comrade Erich Honecker was able to assert at the Ninth SED Congress, "is a vivid reality in our state."³

The basic identity of interests of all classes, strata and groups of the people, of the society and the individual, is however no free gift falling into the laps of the builders of socialism. It must ever again be achieved for every other step in socialist development through a prudently thought-out policy, with affinity with the people, of the Marxist-Leninist party. Our party—guided by the lessons of the classic authors, the experiences of the CPSU in the building of socialism in the USSR and by those of the fraternal parties—has known how to assign goals, in accordance with any given conditions in the social development of the GDR, which meet the vital interests of the workers class and the entire people. On that basis it was able to produce the alliance between the workers class and all working people and strengthen the people's trust in the workers class party. That was the case when the first steps were taken in the socialist revolution in the GDR as well as later in the socialist transformation of agriculture and in solving the tasks of the five-year plans. It is all the more true today in smoothly carrying on the political course of the main task in its unity between economic and social policy even under altered conditions. Because party policy is consistently oriented to the interests of the working people and the well-being of the people, we succeeded in sparking mass initiatives in production for every new social task of rank and in insuring public participation in management and planning at a massive scope. So it is proven in life that real, true democracy for the people, i.e. socialist democracy, does not stand in opposition to our party's leadership role and to the democratic centralism of our state—as bourgeois ideologues would want you to believe—but presupposes their consistent realization.

The working people's participation in management and planning, the shaping and setting of socialist democracy, lends a mighty impulse to our continuing socialist development. In this, we have been able to achieve a new and better quality since the eight and ninth party congresses. The trade unions, making up the largest class organization and the other social organizations have significantly contributed to the further development of our democracy. The role the deputies play in public also has been enhanced, and the trusting political conversations between state functionaries, deputies and citizens have been deepened. In important areas, socialist democracy also has significantly been broadened quantitatively in connection with the development of the country. The number of people working on volunteer commissions, for instance, has risen greatly. The number of members on conflicts commissions has almost doubled from 1963 to 1978, the number of members on commissions, committees and workers and farmers inspectorates has more than doubled in the same period and that of members of parents' activist groups and parents' advisory councils, more than tripled even. It may be accepted as a fact that the workers class party's orientation to listening to and checking any suggestion and conscientiously implementing any idea that promotes our cause and is economically feasible, has significantly contributed to this soaring of socialist democracy.

That which in particular underlines the importance of the trade unions in the political organization of socialism in this respect is the fact that 2 million working persons are exercising volunteer trade union functions and thus are challenged every day in mobilizing the ideas and creative capacities of the working people toward the implementation of the main task. The successful joint efforts by the enterprise party organizations and the trade union organizations become apparent in the results of socialist competition and the growth of the innovator movement. For instance, to mention just one example, in the last 3 years the application of innovations increased twice as much as the number of innovators. The labor code provides in fine detail, and much more extensively than in the past, for the rights of the union group spokesmen plena, of enterprise and department trade union boards, of the trade union spokesmen participating in enterprise management up to including trade union supervision. Practice has shown that the trade union organizations are making an ever improving use of these democratic rights, and this for the acceleration of economic performance improvements as well as for shaping the working people's working and living conditions in the enterprise and for the protection of their legally guaranteed rights.

Characteristics of the Work of the People's Representations

The people's representations occupy a central spot in our system of socialist democracy. They also form the basis for our system of state organs. (Article 5 of our Constitution) The People's Chamber, our supreme state power organ, does intensive work for the systematic implementation of our state's domestic and foreign policy in its plena and on its commissions. Through the work of the commissions, advanced experiences in solving state tasks are generalized and carried further in constant direct contact with the working people. Also the almost 7,800 local people's representations are effectively assuming their responsibility more and more as the elected power organs and centers for the citizens' democratic participation in territorial state planning. The law on the local people's representations and their organs, prepared on orders from the Eighth SED Congress, has been found expedient in this. The quality of the work done by the people's representations has further improved by the increased number, brought about since the last communal elections of 20 May 1979, of deputies working in material production and of young and female deputies and deputies with university and technical school diplomas.

In examining the major aspects in the work of the people's representations and their effectiveness over a longer time span, one recognizes the characteristic features which more and more visibly define socialist democracy in the governmental area. That includes, first of all, the unity between democracy and production--in accordance with Lenin's remark that to us economics is the most interesting politics.⁴ The people's representations and deputies on all levels are making an increasing contribution to the implementation of our party's economic strategy. They more and more strongly focus on effective measures within the territory for high performance improvements, the greatest energy and materials economy, and an enlarging distributable end product while improving our working and living conditions. That, of course, placed in the foreground, in line with the specific responsibilities of the local state organs, questions such as the rationalization of the management areas under their direct responsibility, and the optimum intertwining among the conditions of labor, housing, public supplies and social services, education, recreation and so forth.

A result of such work recently, for instance, was a better organized and predictively computable preliminary storage of sugar beets with considerable savings in diesel fuel and tractor hours in Stassfurt Kreis--initiated through inquiries at the kreis assembly. Also a mass supervision over ensuring plan fulfillment and exceeding plan quotas in consumer goods production, over the state of accounting for and processing secondary raw materials and the reduction of animal losses, carried out by deputies of the people's representations in the bezirk in concert with workers and farmers inspectorate and trade union officials from September to November 1980, as ordered by the Magdeburg Bezirk Assembly, has been found expedient. The active influence exercised by the people's representations and their permanent commissions on projects in territorial rationalization already has become a sound tradition.

Among the characteristic features of socialist democracy is, secondly, the close connection of economic issues with solving the citizens' problems in the territory. In the process of our social development it has been found, for example, that men's needs and interests change and become more complex and differentiated, from which then also new demands and problems arise. The deputies are more and more taking new approaches to find out about justified needs and interests and bring them to realization, in concert with the citizens, within the scope of our economic possibilities. Regular status reports by the council chairmen and mayors before the people's representations on what they do with petitions are an important aid to them, boost their influence on the activity of the local councils and facilitate their supervisory mission.

Important--in particular for deputies of the kreises and larger cities--is to be engaged in one and the same field of activity over a longer period, and important are family discussions after the Oranienburg model and close relations between the deputies and their work collectives. Cottbus Bezirk alone has provided dozens of examples recently which show how deputies succeed in this manner in recognizing justified concerns of many collectives and citizens in various areas--from improving the feeding of pupils to the effect of surface working--and implement changes. The citizens have given a fine response to the work of many people's representations in adopting and enforcing municipal regulations which meet men's needs for clean housing conditions and socialist modes of conduct in residential areas. Affinity with the people--that has always been the supreme precept for the work of deputies in a socialist people's representation.

Third, socialist democracy is marked by the close connection between management and political mass activity. Deputies who confer with their voters on the suggestions and recommendations submitted by these voters become then also propagandists for our tried and tested policy and engage in important political mass activity in concert with the parties and organizations affiliated in the National Front. The development conditions of our society, which increasingly call for more mature and deliberate mental participation, and the toughness of our ideological class struggle conflict with imperialism, as the SED kreis and bezirk delegates conferences have persuasively demonstrated, objectively call for still higher demands on our ideological work. The people's representations and deputies therefore emit more of a strength of political radiation on all citizens by frankly answering their questions, illuminating the results achieved in our economic and social policy with reference to what has happened in a town or community, and explaining the connections between communal political projects and the tasks in strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace. Increasingly more deputies are exercising an important ideological influence through exemplary performance in plan fulfillment and the commitments they assume in socialist competition. The great effectiveness of our democracy as a force that shapes society and molds consciousness is going to prove itself once again during the preparations for the people's elections of 14 June 1981.

Rich Traditions and Multiple Forms

It would be a mistake to reduce socialist democracy to the work of the elected organs and their interaction with the citizens. Socialist democracy is by no means confined to the participatory and decision rights of the representative organs. Wherever there is management, the working people's creative participation is demanded as well. Appropriate binding stipulations of political orientation on principle are contained, for example, in our Constitution but also in our labor code and in the LPG model statutes.

A great role within the system of socialist democracy is exercised by the direct cooperation between the state organs and the population in the residential areas in preparing and implementing governmental decisions--especially those that have a direct impact on the citizens' interests. Rich traditions and multiple forms have evolved here throughout the many years and have become a constitutive element of public life in the GDR. That includes our public council meetings, public discussions of guideline documents prior to decision-making, the cooperation between the specialized housing policy organs and the volunteer housing commissions, the work of the election district activists' groups and so forth. That also includes the petitions submitted to the state organs with constructive suggestions for improving their work or with criticism of deficiencies. In Berlin we are testing at present new forms of cooperation between the state organs and the social forces with regard to listing and newly distributing housing space that has become available.

Governmental publicity work must be mentioned in this context, it being an organic component of socialist state management activity that is becoming ever more important under the conditions of the 1980's. Citizens who have grown up under socialism and know of the requirements and criteria of socialist democracy rightly make higher demands on the quality and timeliness of information on communal policy problems and requirements. Such information cannot solely be provided through personal contacts of the deputies and council members, important though they may be. Systematic

and massively effective publicity work helps promote the citizens' conscious participation in territorial management and planning and enables the citizens to follow the cognitive process that has led to the given governmental decisions by drawing on their own practical experiences or to understand the premises for imminent state decisions in which they themselves want to be involved.

There have long been outstanding examples for problem-oriented and constructively designed state publicity work. That is true, for instance, of the "Council's Standpoint" in Neubrandenburg, distributed as written information to the deputies, all state and economic functionaries, National Front neighborhood commissions and other social forces, processing and concretely answering topical questions for the population. It is true of the public airing of urban construction plans in many towns in our republic. But in many places there are still information gaps caused by "unjustified reticence in matters that need not be kept secret at all,"⁵ as Comrade Erich Honecker remarked when speaking to the SED kreis first secretaries in 1980. Further improving the governmental publicity work is of such a high place value precisely because--as much as an attentive and sensitive attitude by the state functionaries vis-a-vis the citizens, the consideration given to their recommendations and so forth--it creates conditions in which the working people "will actually use" our democracy in the Leninist sense, can actually make use of their rights and freedoms.⁶

Socialist Democracy and Ideological Struggle

The question which social system ensures real freedom and democracy for the working people has been the focal point of the ideological struggle since 1917. Today that consideration is especially pertinent, under the conditions of exacerbated conflict between socialism and imperialism, at a time when the imperialist forces seek to undo the results achieved in detente and wrest some socialist countries away from the socialist community. On the one side, this makes the fragility of the bourgeois-parliamentary system ever more apparent which, as in the United States, the FRG and other imperialist countries, engages in exacerbating the international situation "in the name of the people," organizes the arms race, puts the burdens of the crises on the working people and seeks to label as "terrorist" anyone standing up against it. Socialist democracy proves its effectiveness by its achievements for all classes and strata of the people. On the other side, there is an increasing effort being made by the imperialist circles to malign as undemocratic the political order in the socialist countries, especially the leading role of the workers class and its party, and to pretend that the legalization of the counterrevolution is the criterion for true democracy. The fashionable accepted term they are using is pluralism.

The concept of pluralism, that catchword of bourgeois ideology, had its origin way back before World War I. Originally it served to justify the variety of interest groups, the various fractions and factions of the bourgeoisie for improving its influence on the imperialist state and for organizing a more effective pursuit of its strategy in opposition to the workers class. This existence of sundry affiliations, parties and organized groups like that representing the various capital interests and integrating the petty bourgeoisie, the farmers and the reformist wing of the workers movement into the imperialist government system was then later pumped up, under the motto of pluralism, into an actual logo for a "libertarian" or "democratic" order of government. Not the revolutionary transformation of society under

Marxist-Leninist party leadership, but the struggle among various parties, opinions and political programs with one another, leading to permanent compromise, would then purportedly guarantee the implementation of all the diverse opinions and interests in society. Pluralism became the state ideology of reformism.

Practical politics in all imperialist countries demonstrates that enforcing the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie can, to be sure, be partly covered up and in some minor questions even be delayed or modified by the "struggle between the government and its opposition," by a "diversity of opinion" and other "pluralistic" elements, yet the rule of the monopoly is actually shored up by it as long as power relations continue unchanged. "The oligarchy eternalizes itself," as Karl Marx wrote as long ago as in 1855 about British parliamentarism, "not by constantly holding the power in the same hand but by intermittently letting power drop out of one hand only to catch it with the other one."⁷ The class character of the parliamentary system in the FRG, the United States and elsewhere is evidenced most clearly today by its persecuting all those forces which are striving for a genuine democratic-anti-imperialist alternative.

The pluralistic ideology aims its most significant attacks against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the unity between the Marxist-Leninist party and the people in the socialist countries. And that makes perfect sense because only the working class party has proven, and is proving, itself capable and in the position while guided by the scientific world-outlook of Marxism-Leninism to recognize and fight for the people's present and future tasks and mobilize the actions of the workers class and its allies for it. Under the conditions of the workers class being in power and of the public ownership in the most important means of production, it is not the struggle among the various social forces with one another but--as in our country, for instance--the trusting cooperation among the parties and mass organizations affiliated in the National Front of the GDR that proves the crucial basis for successful advance under Marxist-Leninist party leadership. Without steadily reinforcing the power of the workers class vitiating any counterrevolutionary designs at disruption, there would be no way to speak of stable political, economic and social development and thus of further advances in the perfecting of socialist democracy.

What we see in these attacks against socialist democracy are by no means only frontal attacks against real socialism, but they are also made through the allegation that socialist democracy had "become torpid" and should therefore have to be "enriched" by new elements. Of course, socialist democracy, as any other basic category of socialist reality, is subject to changes and is further developed in accordance with new demands and conditions. The party program defines the development and perfecting of socialist democracy as the main trend in which our socialist state power develops. The most important impulse for it is improving socialist society itself, which finds its expression, for instance, in making scientific-technical progress prevail and in molding the socialist way of life. When looked at more closely, we find that those who clamor with so much "concern" about democracy in the socialist countries care not at all about precisely this development of socialist democracy but about "enriching" it by elements of bourgeois democracy, by which they ultimately wish to replace it.

Particularly the last decade has like none other in our history proven that the sovereign self-determination of the people, the citizens' participation, in multiple forms, in our public affairs, has become a mighty impulse for our successful advance. And because this depends on the exercise of political power by the workers class and its leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party, we pay special attention to incessantly strengthening and reliably protecting the worker-peasant power, deepening the close affinity between the party and the people, and purposefully fostering the comradely, creative and systematic cooperation among all working classes and strata in our country. Because this is what we know: the great social activity by the workers class and all working people ensures the important social progress we have made by way of implementing the eighth and ninth party congress decisions. And it will also in the future largely depend on their sense of responsibility, their expert partnership in thought, their experiences and will to performance, and their creatively committed work how successfully the guideline resolutions of the 10th party congress are translated into action. Socialist democracy is true government by the people, exercised by the people and its elected organs.

FOOTNOTES

1. Rosa Luxemburg, "The Spartacus League--What For?" "Gesammelte Werke" (Collected Works), Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974, p 447.
2. V. I. Lenin, "About 'Democracy' and Dictatorship," "Werke," Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 377.
3. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 111.
4. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Tenth All-Russian Conference of the CPR(B)," "Werke," Vol 32, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 451.
5. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Next Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Decisions), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 88.
6. V. I. Lenin, "First Comintern Congress," "Werke," Vol 28, p 479.
7. Karl Marx, "From the Parliament--The Roebuck and Bulwer Bills," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 11, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 352.

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INTELLECTUALS' DEVELOPMENT AS 'INDEPENDENT SOCIAL STRATUM' ANALYZED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 56, 9 Apr 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Continues To Attach 'Special Importance' to 'Social Reproduction' of Intellectuals." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The SED continues to attach "special importance" to the matter of the "social reproduction" of the intellectuals. According to the theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 4/5, 1981), circa 56 percent of university and college students comes out of workers and farmers families. Furthermore, most students taking correspondence courses and those in technical schools had learned a specialized trade. That had made sure "that most of the intellectuals are coming out of the workers class and the class of the cooperative farmers." Attention should, however, be paid "to having the young socialist intelligentsia get replenished from the core of the workers class, the specialized workers in the combines of industry and construction, up to the scale necessary."

SED Scholar's Analysis

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 4/5, Apr-May 81 signed to press 13 Mar 81 pp 439-445

[Article by Prof Dr Gregor Schirmer, jurist, deputy department chief, SED Central Committee: "Socialist Intellectuals--Reliable Partners in the Alliance With the Workers Class." For reference to various items of related information see translation of a May 1980 EINHEIT article by Prof Wolfgang Schneider of SED CC's Karl Marx Party College, published under the heading, "Progress of Continuing Class-Strata Rapprochement Reviewed," in JPRS 76395, 10 Sep 80, No 1812 of this series, pp 56-62. For some statistics on the GDR's class structure see translation of a February 1981 EINHEIT report in JPRS 77866, 17 Apr 81, No 1871 of this series, pp 67-71]

[Text] The alliance of the workers class with the intellectuals is among the inviolable principles of socialism. Proceeding from experiences, traditions and basic principles in the socialist policy on intellectuals, there are problems discussed such as:

What role and developmental prospects does the intelligentsia have as a social stratum in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society? In the solution of which tasks does socialist alliance policy prove itself today? What unites spirit with power among us?

The intellectuals' role in state and society is clearly defined in the SED Program and the GDR Constitution, i.e., in documents of the greatest authority: The socialist intelligentsia is a reliable and irreplaceable alliance partner of the workers class, under the leadership of which it takes part in the exercise of power. The development of the intelligentsia as an independent social stratum and its creative contribution to the all-round strengthening of the GDR through high achievements, mainly in science and technology, in education, health and the intellectual-cultural life, are a necessary condition and inviolable element in the shaping of the developed socialist society. The alliance of the workers class with the intellectuals is among the inassailable foundations of socialism.

This is by no means a matter of tactical considerations, but these are proven principles in the party's alliance policy based on objective social inevitabilities. For fulfilling its historic mission as the builder of the new society, the workers class needs this alliance with a social stratum engaged in complicated intellectual work because without high-level science, education and culture socialism cannot be established.

Such penetrating historic changes, for instance, as combining the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution, or the revolution in the field of ideology and culture, can be coped with only through the alliance between the workers class and the intellectuals. The intelligentsia, in turn, can unfold its creative capacities in freedom and for the good of the people only under the leadership by the workers class.

The workers class and the intelligentsia share common interests in preserving the peace, strengthening socialist power, and further improving the people's material and cultural standard of living, based on a high developmental speed of socialist production, improved efficiency, scientific-technical progress and growth in labor productivity. This identity of interests comes from what the workers class and the intelligentsia have objectively in common with respect to socialist property, to labor, to the exercise of power, and to intellectual-cultural life.

All this lends stability and prospects to the workers class alliance with the intellectuals. "We shall foster this alliance in every conceivable way," Erich Honecker announced at the Ninth SED Congress. "Because it is a decisive source of strength for implementing those great goals we are assigning to ourselves with our new program for the further development of our economic and social policy, for science, culture and education and all other domains of public life."¹

Experiences and Traditions

In the 35th year since its founding, the SED can look back at rich traditions in the socialist policy on the intelligentsia and its alliance.

It is often said that the socialist intelligentsia has evolved from two sources: the old intelligentsia developed under capitalism and the new that grew up after 1945. By and large that is quite correct yet does not reflect the whole sample of the development of the intelligentsia into a social stratum of socialist society.

The old intelligentsia had no homogeneity. It included only few communists, social democrats and other anti-fascists who had fought against fascism and survived. It now played a mobilizing role in our spiritual resurgence. There were also progressive intellectuals of humanistic bent in it who in part, however, were given to old ideas and dominated by antisocialist reservations. There was the large group of those who considered themselves apolitical and refused even in the new era to be anything but narrow specialists. And finally there were many Nazis among the intellectuals who, while they had committed no crimes, often only looked with distrust and doubt or even despair into the future.

The young intelligentsia likewise was marked by political-ideological contrasts way into the 1950's. Most, to be sure, were active FDJ members and members of other democratic mass organizations, students and graduates of worker-peasant faculties, hurriedly trained and not even so very young new teachers and people's judges. But then there were also young people who had not yet found their bearings in the antifascist-democratic order or were flirting with the capitalist West. In view of the intensity of the class struggles, and of the most sophisticated diversion in which a revived West German imperialism was engaged, it is no surprise that many turned out to be traitors or defectors both in the old and the new intelligentsia.

It was a hard road and rich in conflicts that led to the emergence of the socialist intelligentsia. It did not come without sectarianism and distrust from many workers and party members and functionaries. It often demanded of the intellectuals harsh stock-taking and thorough reevaluations. With historical prescience our party has in all phases of socialist construction shown trust in the intelligentsia and assigned constructive tasks to it. It let itself be guided by the thought that in dealing with the intellectuals sensitivity and patience were just as much needed as Marxist-Leninist firmness in principle and party-minded consistency.

Since the days of unification between the KPD and the SPD there has in this matter indeed been an impressive continuity. The SED party executive as early as on 11 February 1948 adopted the resolution entitled, "Intellectuals and Party," which set down concrete measures "to create a close alliance between the workers class and the intellectuals." That early the party realized: "Decisively prerequisite to permanently attracting noted scholars and artists is the promotion of art, literature and science which has been announced in our principles." The party asked that the artists and scientists be helped "in overcoming the obstacles on the way to their creative activity."² That established the basic principle of the party's alliance policy which is in effect to this day.

Greater Productivity and Effectiveness of Intellectual Work

The activity of the intellectuals is as multifaceted as socialist society itself. It embraces basic and applied research, technological development, production organization and management, public education, medical care, jurisprudence, military affairs, culture and the arts. Each area of intellectual work has its specifics

which we have to be aware of. But everywhere it is a matter of raising the productivity and effectiveness of mental work, of bringing the creative capacities of the intellectuals into full play. The fact that the intellectuals have an alliance partner in the workers class which itself is more and more marked by characteristics such as awareness, fine education and creativity creates favorable conditions for it. In the following we mean to ventilate a few problems which, it seems to us, apply to all areas in the activity of the intellectuals and in the solution of which socialist alliance policy is brought to realization today.

First, in all the areas it is a matter of high achievements, top positions in science, technology and production, a high level of education, artistic skill and highest medical art. "Socialism," so Kurt Hager has said, "can be only a growth and performance society in a well understood sense of our socialist principles."³ This is a matter of demanding mental work in wholly new dimensions, and it fully meets with the interests of the intellectuals themselves whose natural desire is to give their best in their own field.

Scientific research is in fact always a search for new achievements others have not yet come up with, a search for new cognition in terms of the state of international knowledge. While we were getting set for the party congress, scientists stated they felt still more challenged into genuine scientific top achievements by the party policy per se, mainly by its focus on further economic efficiency improvements. And they rightly pointed out the concept "scientific top achievement" ought not to be handled in a cavalier fashion. We can speak of top achievements in research when fundamental theories, methods and procedures either are newly discovered or significantly further developed, when a research result makes an important contribution to social progress in our country, and when research finds international attention and respect.

Second, high achievements by the intellectuals depend on the social atmosphere that surrounds them. There is a favorable climate for mental work in our country, for theoretical thinking and artistic creation, which is fertilized above all through the cooperative work between the workers class and the intellectuals. And yet we must constantly see to it that the place value of complicated mental work is understood everywhere and the role of science and education as developmental factors, fully comprehended.

What with the nearly 1,600,000 university and technical school graduates since 1949, an enormous intellectual potential has been created through high economic expenditures and cultural-educational efforts on the part of the whole society, for the use and increment of which the entire society also bears the responsibility. It remains an important task, for example, fully to challenge the creative capacities of the scientific-technical intelligentsia, mainly of the young graduates, in production, research and development. Science works as immediate productive force, not only in the materialized form of technologies, machines, equipment, production organizations and so forth, but equally directly also as mental productive force through the creativity, the knowledge and abilities of the working people. According to economic scientists, circa one-third of the total increase in labor productivity is attributable to the educational factor.⁴ Employing graduates below their qualification levels thus leads to economic losses and also negatively affects their personality development.

In this context the question has to be raised how we can more strongly still induce high achievements by the intellectuals. It is a difficult question because promotion measures are often hard to find and to apply for the quality and efficiency of intellectuals, mainly for scientific and artistic work. Our party tends toward making salaries, bonuses and other emoluments for the intellectuals still more dependent on their performance and toward fully using the possibilities of moral recognition. Inducing high mental achievements, as experience has shown, comes through making optimum material and mental working conditions available to the intellectuals, and by providing the greatest assistance of this sort to the most outstanding personalities and collectives. Everywhere an atmosphere has to be created in which the intellectuals' will and readiness for performance can fully unfold. The chance to think in quiet is as much part of it as exchanging opinions within the collective. The certitude that one's work is needed and the result of one's work are used for the benefit of the people, and that he may expect understanding and goodwill when things become tough—all this may induce a scientist and engineer, a teacher, physician or artist, to optimize his efforts.

More attention ought to be paid to spotting and promoting talents in good time whereby to ensure the development of top capacities. This is a task that initially confronts the teachers and university teachers. For the university teacher this means providing himself with an entourage of students for whose political-moral and character development he feels as responsible as for their specialized education. But a targeted promotion of top capacities is also needed in later stages of personality development. That calls for differentiation in approaches, great familiarity with personnel, empathy for the special conditions under which outstanding creators of culture and mental products grow up, and the most individually pitched promotion measures.

Third, the intellectuals are of course themselves responsible for high achievements in their specialized field. It is in line with the character of creative intellectual work and the position by the party and the state toward such work that the ones who perform it to an extremely high degree themselves decide which course they want to take in their efforts, how good and useful their results are and how to come by them. It is therefore of the greatest value that in the collectives of the intellectuals and their organizations an open and trusting discussion goes on about creative problems and that one's own achievements are soberly and critically evaluated, with praise bestowed on what is outstanding and with making no bones about what is less accomplished.

Ultimately all great intellectual achievements depend on the political conviction, initiative and imagination, willingness for risks and purposefulness of each individual. One of the advantages of socialism lies in that here the unfolding of individual creativity need not be enforced against society. The state promotes individual abilities, talents and creative capacities. That does not exclude conflicts in individual cases but facilitates their being solved in harmony with social and individual interests.

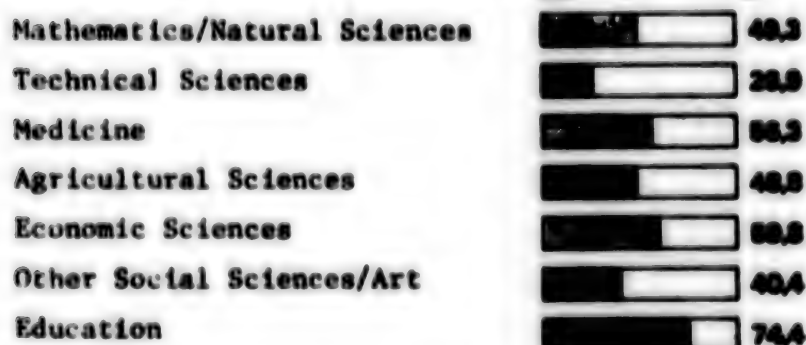
Unity of Spirit and Power

Our state in its class character is a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat which represents the interests of the entire people. V. I. Lenin wrote in 1919:

Structure of University Student Body in Terms of Departments (1980, in percent)



Proportion of Female Students per Department (in percent)



"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a specific form of the class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous nonproletarian strata of the working people (petty bourgeoisie, smallholders, peasantry, intelligentsia and so forth), an alliance to establish and consolidate socialism for once and for all."⁵ The working class alliance with the intellectuals thus is eminently political in nature.

Socialist democracy ensures that the intellectuals as free citizens of the GDR have a fair share in shaping the life of socialist society. That is not only vested in law but is quotidian practice. In the supreme state power organ of the GDR, the People's Chamber, 15.2 percent of the membership is made up of intellectuals, and circa two-thirds of them are university and technical school graduates. The mass organization of the creators of cultural and intellectual products, the Culture League, has its own 22-head fraction in the People's Chamber and is represented by 2,700 deputies in the local people's representations. Through their membership and activities in the trade unions and other mass organizations, in the academies and science associations, in the artists affiliations and various advisory bodies in the state organs, the intellectuals bring their influence to bear on all public domains. The intellectuals occupy a solid position in the party in that 22.1 percent of the members and candidates is made up of socialist intellectuals.

What the scientists and artists say is much in demand and has great weight. Hardly any decision of social rank is ever made without being prepared and supported by intellectuals. That has to do not only with that expert specialists are indispensable but reflects a social transformation of which Erich Honecker said on 22 June 1979, in his conference with creators of culture and art: "With the founding of our

worker-peasant state, spirit merged with power."⁶ No contradiction but a productive community between intellectuals and state power exists in our country. And this is by no means a static relationship without any problems but a community with its own differences of opinion and disagreements.

Power questions in our country are also at once questions of culture, science and education because the economic-organizational and the cultural-educational functions of the socialist state is becoming ever more prominent and also because its protective function against external attacks from imperialism and against violators of our legal order has a profound moral-cultural justification. Among the primary mandates of the state is to encourage and protect science and education, culture and art. Without secure socialist power, a rich spiritual life would be impossible. Anyone who would undermine or jeopardize this power would also be working toward the destruction of the spirit. The imperialist centers of diversion would, explicitly, want to corrupt the freedom of intellectual creation into a "freedom" to engage in antisocialist activity. That sort of "freedom," assuredly, has not been provided for in our socialist legal order nor will it ever have any place in the practice of our democracy--precisely on behalf of a prosperous development of our intellectual life.

The Prospects for the Socialist Intellectuals

Under the conditions of socialism, the social stratum of the intellectuals has grown much quantitatively and assumed qualitatively new characteristic traits.

Between 1961 and 1980 the proportion of university and technical school graduates among all people working grew from 6.1 to 18.8 percent, a development that was especially tempestuous in industry. This quantitative growth is going to continue through the next five-year plans. The intelligentsia thus has become an important factor in our social structure.

As to the qualitative side in the development of the intelligentsia, it is mainly marked by the rapprochement among all classes and strata on the basis of a constantly rising level of the productive forces and production relations and by the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and socialist morality. Sociology has done more detailed research on this rapprochement process.⁷ There is agreement it has led to a preponderance of features held in common between the workers class and the intellectuals but that still now social differentiations do exist and will also exist in the future. The rapprochement among the classes and strata is a historic process that is tied up with social development on the whole and cannot be artificially speeded up by any special measures.

The intelligentsia remains a special social stratum because the handling of complicated mental work that characterizes it is tied up with a whole number of specifics which in their entirety not only reflect the natural difference between physical and mental work but, above and beyond that, condition social distinction. This refers to such factors as the predominance of creative elements in the substance of the work done, high skills normally acquired at universities and colleges, and particulars in the way of life, mainly in the cultural needs and the ways and means and opportunities for their satisfaction. Those specifics cannot be readily "abolished." The important thing is, instead, to use them--much as the common features--as impulses for the development of the creative capabilities of the

intellectuals for the sake of scientific-technical and intellectual-cultural progress. The dialectics of the rapprochement process does not amount to a diminishing of the social particulars of the intellectuals in favor of what they have in common with the workers class but in that, within the characteristic features of the intellectuals, more and more of the typically working class characteristics like discipline, organization and collectivity merge with the characteristics of the intellectuals.

The socialist intelligentsia thus has far-reaching historic prospects, about which Lenin wrote as early as in 1921 "that the specialists as a social stratum of their own, who will remain a special stratum until the highest developmental stage of communist society is reached, live better under socialism than under capitalism, in material as well as legal respects, in terms of their comradely cooperation with the workers and peasants and in intellectual respects, i.e., as to the satisfaction they find in their work and in the awareness that their work, freed from the selfish interests of the capitalist class, brings social benefit."⁸

The question of the social reproduction of the intellectuals gains special importance in this context. It is ensured by that university and college students are appropriately recruited from all classes and strata. That is a principle of our Constitution. As circa 56 percent of the university and college students comes out of workers' and farmers' families or worked before studying as workers and farmers, and as most students taking correspondence courses and technical students learn a specialized technical trade, we have made sure that most intellectuals come out of the workers class and the class of the cooperative farmers. Attention must however continue to be paid to having the young socialist intelligentsia get replenished from the core of the workers class, the specialized workers in the combines of industry and construction, up to the scale necessary. A considerable segment naturally will have to be recruited from the intelligentsia itself.

Anyone who has an influence on whether or not young people choose to study at universities or colleges ought to consider that by their being delegated to study decisions also are being made on the development of an important sector of the social structure of the developed socialist society. In this sense, Erich Honecker offered the following guideline: "We regard the formation of a young socialist intelligentsia with firm ties to the workers class and actively involved in shaping public life in our country as a task of high political rank."⁹

Marxism-Leninism--Ideological Orientation

Marxism-Leninism today provides the ideological-methodological orientation to most of the socialist intellectuals. This does not mean every intellectual is a Marxist-Leninist. Christian, generally humanistic and other democratic persuasions have their place in socialism, too. But those intellectuals who do not espouse the world-outlook of the workers class still derive essential stimuli from it for their political position and for their work.

Marxist-Leninist theory is the dominant ideology also in the intellectual sphere. This is shown by the intellectuals' increasing interests in the discussions on ideological and historical matters. No doubt, it is an especially demanding task in our propaganda work to satisfy those interests on a high level. And it has to

be taken into account here that from these most diversified occupations specific ideological problems and interests derive in the various groups of the intelligentsia. Among the scientists, for example, philosophical, political-economic and sociopolitical problems in scientific-technical progress, in the relationship between philosophy and the specialized sciences, in the materialist dialectics as a methodology, the ethics of scientific work and the history of science ought to be given appropriate consideration. Many authors and artists raise interesting philosophic and ethical questions in their works, take a stand on economic, political science and social problems, and treat historic matters from a new vantage point. Such questions ought to be still more thoroughly debated between artists and social scientists.

The attraction Marxism-Leninism has for intellectuals lies, as we know, in its logic and strength of evidence, its cohesiveness and cogency, its offering, from an assured foundation of insights, stimulation to ponder and reflect in any specialized field whatever. A discussion of ideological matters with and among the intellectuals should therefore always be mindful of Erich Honecker's remark: "Marxism-Leninism is a live science connected with social practice. It alters that practice and derives new insights from it. This is the way Marxism-Leninism wants to be studied, understood and applied: as a guide for action."¹⁰

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 91.
2. "Intellektuelle und Partei. Dokumente der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (Intellectuals and the Party--SED Documents), Vol I, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1952, pp 275-278.
3. Kurt Hager, "Die Gesellschaftswissenschaften vor neuen Aufgaben" (The Social Sciences Confronting New Tasks), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 33.
4. Cf. Helmut Koziolk, "Reproduktion und Nationaleinkommen. Probleme und Zusammenhaenge" (Reproduction and National Income--Problems and Interconnections), Die Wirtschaft publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 189.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Preface for the Publication of the Speech 'Cheating the People With the Slogans of Freedom and Equality,'" "Werke" (Works), Vol 29, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 370.
6. Erich Honecker, "Our Party's Cultural Policy Is Being Implemented With Success," "Unerschuetterliches Buendnis zwischen Partei und Kulturschaffenden" (Unshakable Alliance Between Party and Creators of Culture), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 36.
7. Cf., e.g., "Koerperliche und geistige Arbeit im Sozialismus" (Physical and Mental Work in Socialism), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980.

8. V. I. Lenin, "On the Role and the Tasks of the Trade Unions Under the Conditions of the New Economic Policy," "Werke," Vol 33, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 180.
9. Erich Honecker, "Das Wohl des Volkes ist der Sinn unseres Kampfes. Reden und Aufsätze" (The People's Well-being Is the Purpose of Our Struggle--Speeches and Essays), Vol 5, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 244.
10. Erich Honecker, "On Topical GDR Domestic and Foreign Policy Issues," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 October 1980, p 5.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

AESTHETIC, REVOLUTIONARY ASPECTS OF SOCIALIST CULTURE ANALYZED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 60, 22 Apr 81 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "GDR to Cultivate Cultural Heritage Even More Thoroughly." Translations of the GDR culture minister's article cited below, as well as of another East Berlin EINHEIT article on the subject follow this commentary]

[Text] GDR Minister of Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann has demanded "to cultivate and appropriate the cultural heritage of the past still more comprehensively and purposefully and to explore our heritage more consciously still as a source of affinity with our socialist home and of patriotism, as a source of proletarian internationalism." It was "our duty," he wrote in EINHEIT (No 4/5, 1981) "to do everything so that monuments and precious buildings, e.g., important testimonials to our history and national culture are not only preserved but are given their appropriate place in life today." As means were not unlimited it was all the more important "to consider carefully what we must afford lest the future generations miss a piece of the foundation on which our real socialism, and our and their relations with yesterday and tomorrow are built."

GDR Culture Minister on Aesthetics

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 4/5, Apr-May 81 signed to press 13 Mar 81 pp 460-466

[Article by Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, member, SED Central Committee; GDR minister for culture; and Prof Dr Werner Kuehn, secretary of minister's Cultural Council: "Toward an Enhanced Aesthetic Culture." For an earlier discussion by the same authors see translation of an October 1975 EINHEIT article, published under the heading, "Concept of Cultural Heritage and Its Assimilation Analyzed," in JPRS 66241, 28 Nov 75, No 1164 of this series, pp 36-50. For references to other items of related information see translation of a recent West German analysis of the SED's concept of socialist culture, available in JPRS 78075, 14 May 81, No 1879 of this series, pp 22-37]

[Text] To the all-round unfolding of the creative capacities of socialist personalities, rich and multifaceted aesthetic relations and activities, needs and experiences are indispensable. The aesthetic is an irreplaceable element of man's practical-spiritual appropriation of the world. As an interacting unity between awareness and practical action, aesthetic activity becomes effective in all spheres of human life. Socialist cultural policy therefore has to be oriented to a multiform web of relations in aesthetic experience and behavior, efforts and values.

The meaning and purpose of communism is to bring about, through the joint efforts of all, a high upsurge of the productive forces and to ensure the highest well-being and free all-round development of all members of society. That affects the consciousness, will, passion and imagination of men and places the broadest unfolding of the creativity, talents and spiritual potential of millions more and more in the center of all our efforts.

A Necessary Part of Life

For the unfolding of creative capacities, the constant expansion and deepening of the image of the world of socialist personalities, the perfecting of their character traits, the cultivation of their sentiments and the acceptance of justified value orientations, rich and multifaceted aesthetic relations and activities, needs and experiences are irreplaceable and indispensable.

We Marxist-Leninists see in the aesthetic not a "pretty ingredient" or "ornamentation" of an all too prosaic mode of ordinary living, as a world of "beautiful appearance." We understand aesthetic needs and relations as a unique element of men's practical-spiritual appropriation of this world. In everything man does and produces and conducts himself, he also always--in conformity with concrete conditions--expresses his aesthetic ideas, as much as he also always perceives and evaluates all that surrounds him from the aspect of his aesthetic sense--be it called beautiful or ugly, lofty or base, tragic or comical and so forth. Its socio-political and cultural-political importance that relation derives from the fact that in aesthetic activity and judgment, reason and sentiment, will and character and also what is subconscious and subliminal become effective as a whole, whereby we experience and perceive reality in a complex, holistic, sensuously shaped fashion and can, by making it an object of awareness, convey social experience.¹

The essential content of man's aesthetic activity is forming the world in accordance with the laws of beauty. Man alone can apply an inherent, intrinsic measure to whatever subject matter.² Aesthetic activity becomes effective in all spheres of human life through an interacting unity between awareness and practical action. The aesthetic quality of objective things and phenomena always owns a "reference to man" (Goethe). The aesthetic, the beautiful, expresses the social nature of man and his needs, aspirations and ideals, which are primarily conditioned and formed by social practice and the social order. Thus everything that is beautiful has an historic-concrete character and at the same time an imperishable universal human value, which can be revealed in its universal human significance only to the extent that what is beautiful becomes the common good of the people, of all men.³

In various ways aesthetic value criteria and value judgments, which are determined historically, in their class character and socially and constitute a form of partisanship, in being affirmed or rejected, enter into the activities of men and stimulate and motivate their action. The capacity to sense and understand the aesthetic, the beauty in all the appearances in the world, leads to and constantly renews the need always to look for beauty, for harmony, for the "inherent measure," and to act in accordance with those criteria. A holistic and consciously creative character human conduct only gains when man works not only to make a living, or acts not only for reasons of moral imperatives, but also perceives the beauty and loftiness of his work, his actions, his conduct, through his reason and sentiments, and when he rejects unethical, dishonest and infamous acts also because he understands and feels them to be ugly and base, and fights against them. Likewise, patriotism and internationalism, loyalty to socialism and solidarity become all the more a truly moving force when they no longer merely come from a political conviction and ideological position but are at the same time also aesthetically formed understanding and emotion.⁴ So a socialist also should not only know but should, in addition, perceive why he must bear a weapon and against whom he must use it!

Certainly, an individual can--even among us--evade the sense for beauty, the cultivation of his aesthetic perception, judgment and conduct. But modes of behavior like loafing on the job, egoism, overindulgence in the intake of alcohol, rowdyism, cheating and so forth always prove to be in their outcome aesthetically "ugly," "low" or "base" because they contradict the characteristics of the human species and ultimately always come at the expense, and the burdens, of our fellow-men, of our entire society. Making aesthetic value criteria and value judgments prevail--an important task in practical cultural politics--always is tied up with the answer to the question about the meaning of life and the dignity, rights and duties of man. For all these reasons we have assigned the task to us in socialism to lift the workers class and all other working people onto a high level of consciously experienced and aesthetically shaped culture and to enable them to gain an ever deeper comprehension, rationally and emotionally, of the value criteria of socialism, so that each can have an aesthetic perception of his own actions as well as those of others and judge them in these terms from the standpoint of our socialist position, too.

A far-flung process in forming personalities and shaping society has got started in our socialist system which has to be guided and directed with circumspection and systematically. Conscious aesthetic experience and conduct, aesthetic training and education, become more and more of concern to the entire people. There are no social groups that could register any privileges or preferential rights with respect to aesthetic culture. By creatively sharing the shaping and responsibility in the construction of our society, millions of people also increasingly experience the acknowledgement of their own self and the pleasure of living in aesthetic terms. Socialist cultural policy thus has to be oriented to a multiform web of relations of aesthetic experience and behavior, efforts and values.

Aesthetic Culture and Education

A highly cultured man, with a high sense for aesthetic culture, enjoys great respect in socialist society. But this level of culture is no natural endowment. It forms

through his practical conduct and is instilled in him almost his whole life long. Man comes under aesthetic "influence" from all sides--consciously and unconsciously--from his early childhood. For his personality formation, a whole variety of phenomena of aesthetic culture or, to put it more generally still, of an overall aesthetic milieu becomes formative. Toys and games, the home environment and the family's mode of life, the behavior of others, influences and impressions by nature, his town, his street, his school, fashions, working skills and his active participation in the work process, sports, television programs and, not last, of course, the arts--a sheer boundless web of aesthetic phenomena, impressions, influences, activities and so forth forms the aesthetic culture, shapes the aesthetic relations and activities of man.

Aesthetic culture is an important element in the socialist image of personality. It is therefore a cultural policy task of the first rank to refine the aesthetic sensitivity and aesthetic culture of the working people, to sensitize their ear, eye and intellect, constantly to cultivate the sense for beauty that is more or less developed in every man and the knowledge of the laws of beauty. Socialist society has all the prerequisites for it. It pays much attention to aesthetic education, the encounter with works of art, to self-generated cultural activity, early in the nursery, then in the kindergarten, the school, in vocational training and in the army, in the enterprise and in the residential area. More continuity must, to be sure, still be given to that process. Our rich cultural life offers many opportunities and enticements for affecting and shaping man's aesthetic culture, feeling and thinking. We must see to it everywhere that this enormous arsenal of cultural-aesthetic influence factors is made effective and is used with maximal effect. That also requires judging cultural institutions of any kind not merely by quantitative criteria. They must, rather, yield real cultural, ideological and social results that conform with our contemporary social requirements and with the individual expectations of socialist personalities. Here are found the decisive tasks and reserves.

In the intellectual struggles of our time, aesthetic activity, culture and education are receiving new contents and dimensions. Through the fraternal alliance of the socialist countries, they also must be aimed at taking a creative part in bringing out what our socialist national cultures have in common, in their increasing reciprocal enrichment and permeation. At the same time our socialist position had and has to be worked out and be made to prevail in an implacable intellectual confrontation with the discontent in the present and the fear of the future, with tendencies of resignation and dread, pessimism and irrationalism, which pervade bourgeois culture and intellectual life in the capitalist countries and find their expression in the loss of a humanistic intellectual and moral orientation and in a far-reaching corruption of the true, the good and the beautiful. The class conflict in the cultural field is becoming more intense and varied.

All considerations about aesthetic education must be based on the realization that it has to be conceived and used as a certain and specific aspect of all forms of education, as an irreplaceable aspect of personality formation, all-inclusive in its effect. Our social development demands that the problems in aesthetic education be more accurately defined still theoretically and be further elaborated.

Work and Performance Readiness

The new conditions that mold the character of work in socialism have their effect not merely by being there. They must also be used and understood subjectively. The new socialist attitude toward work, for instance, presupposes not merely a high degree of consciousness. A socialist or communist attitude toward work requires a sense and knowledge of the magnitude and meaning of labor freed from exploitation. Even when, concretely, the effort to be performed still amounts to heavy physical work, when the work is routine and, at times, still monotonous. In spite of all the problems that result from it, we regard work and its results--in reference to a thought by Johannes R. Becher--as the finest and highest form of the enjoyment of life. Life that fails to be passionately devoted to work is barren, after all, void, boring--an existence in idleness--, unendurable, inhuman, as it is incompatible with the essence of man.⁶ A communist attitude toward work therefore is inconceivable without a developed aesthetic attitude toward it.

Strengthening our economic efficiency and our country's economic capacity is no economic policy or economic task in the narrow sense of the word. Experienced foremen, brigade chiefs, plant managers and combine directors know well enough that a cultured climate, developed aesthetic culture in the work collective, and in the towns and communities where people work, live and spend their leisure, can greatly contribute to the working people's job satisfaction and sense of comfort, promote creativity, strengthen man in his sense of value and move socialist society closer to its desired ideal.

Today, production efficiency improvements crucially depend on scientific-technical progress. That is however not only understood in socialism as a revolutionizing of science and technology--whatever may be thought about it still in some places, unfortunately. Because this process also affects the life of society so strikingly and must be pushed forward with energy by all working people, for the sake of its further development, man, the most important productive force, and the production relations men (and only men!) enter into, must always be included in the picture when we think about it and investigate it. Our development makes ever more apparent how much our cultural level, our intellectual-cultural life and our dealing with art have to do with the decision on whether and how effectively our country's working people cope with the high demands of the scientific-technical revolution--including its social consequences, whether and how they acquire the abilities to master most up-to-date technologies, in order to produce commodities which meet technical top parameters and at the same time excel aesthetically. Much depends on the general cultural level, the harmonious development of personality and thus on avoiding one-sided rational education for the working people of our republic to be able to solve the key problems of scientific-technical progress, those of efficiency and qualities--and that is equally true for the production worker as for the engineer or the combine director. Also, and not least, an aesthetic appropriation of the artificial and natural environment is needed for coping with the scientific-technical revolution. Scientific, scientific-technical and aesthetic appropriation of reality fuse together. This is a process of which our social policy takes account in general and our cultural policy in particular.

Aesthetic Activity and the Environment

For the most different reasons greater practical importance attaches at present to aesthetic design for the built-up or constructed environment and to the theoretical interest in the problems that are connected with it. A novel and complicated, still hardly explored, web of economic, social and cultural relations has evolved here. Mainly it is that the aesthetic components, the cultural factors in urban construction, in the renewal of old inner-cities and the construction of new residential areas are increasing in social value as visibly as, for instance, the planning and preservation and protection of nature.

New and novel fields of tension have emerged thereby. In the complex structuring and maintenance of urban, industrial and natural living spaces, fundamental social, economic, ecological and specific aesthetic tasks, needs and prerequisites come together. With industrial and housing construction we are also assigned the task to create a harmonious, beautiful environment. The main thing is, as was underlined by the Seventh Construction Conference, to improve the quality of urban structures through complex design and reach better effects, through lower investments, for the good of the citizens. For that reason we also systematically extend the cooperation between urban construction and architectural art.⁷ Architectural forms must conform to the level of scientific and technical progress and the intellectual demands and aesthetic requirements of the people of today and must not lose any of their affective influence.

Also man's relationship with nature calls for a pronounced sensitivity to its aesthetic components. Knowing about its utility must not be the end-all of our relation to nature. It must also draw on the love, respect and joy and the ability of man to sense and appreciate the beauty of nature, its grandeur and magnificence.

If the working people experience their environment aesthetically, as harmonious, as beautiful, this can promote permanent social comfort, arouse feelings for one's homeland, strengthen the love for one's fatherland, and help form and deepen socialist patriotism.

The Aesthetic Significance of Art

We Marxist-Leninists conceive of art in the unity of its great variety as a specific, unique and, at the same time, highly developed type of aesthetic activity. Our society respects and needs art of all types and genres in their particular aesthetic quality and personality-forming efficacy. The spirit and content of ideas in art, its sociological significance and the strength with which it forms men can come only through the aesthetic effect it has.

The special capacity of art lies in its capturing all of man, affecting his reason and emotion at equal measure, and in providing pleasure through the realization that human destiny can be coped with. That is why socialist art activates the struggle for the cause of socialism, cultivates imagination and mores, deepens the pleasure of living, and helps in its particular way to perceive life, with all its developments, struggles, conflicts and difficulties, as beautiful and worth living. In its unique ways and means it can make possible comprehending the magnitude of all that which spells out the meaning of life, the purpose of socialism and of the revolutionary struggle in our time of worldwide transformations. It helps our deeper understanding of and sense for the great humanistic line of tradition to which we belong and which we carry on.

So the continued shaping of the developed socialist society is unthinkable without the activating role of the arts and without people who need and love art. No true and complete possession of reality by man is possible without art. Despite the gratifying increase in the interest in art--today as well as in the past--we cannot ignore that the needs for art and dealing with it proceed in a most contradictory way. Above all, this is a process that does not become automatic through the improvements in the material living conditions. The development of the arts and their reception and effect--even if it depends on many spontaneous and individual factors--are constantly and systematically promoted in socialist society by our Marxist-Leninist party and our socialist state, and that means intellectually, substantively and conceptually as well as materially. Our socialist cultural policy seeks to develop and use all functions of the arts to develop socialist thought and conduct, experiential capacity and the joy in discovery, the desire to shape things and the sense for beauty, sensitivity to forms and taste, and the sense for pleasure and for art.

Perceiving and Understanding Our Place in History

The great capacity of socialist man,⁸ an advantage of socialism, lies in perceiving his own, and absorbing, everything the human spirit and hand have created. It has to be used ever more extensively so that in the working people's emotions and thoughts an internal relationship is established with the dreams and deeds, the experiences and accomplishments of the past, while they more deeply comprehend contradictions and discontinuities alike, victories and defeats in the vast struggles of history, and the historic spot man and socialism occupy today with respect to the centuries-old progress of history. It is our historic responsibility as the workers class in power to engage still more extensively and purposefully in the cultivation and appropriation of the cultural heritage of our past and still more consciously explore our heritage as a source for our socialist love for our homeland and for our patriotism, and as source of proletarian internationalism. It is our duty to do what we can so that monuments and precious buildings, e.g., important testimonials to our history and national culture, are not only preserved but are given their appropriate place in life today. We can of course include in our plans only what we can afford. It is therefore all the more important to consider carefully what we must afford, lest the future generations miss a piece of the foundation on which our real socialism, and our and their relations with yesterday and tomorrow, are built.

Particular importance attaches to our legacy in the arts. An encounter with that legacy of course requires open-mindedness, curiosity, love for art and also a certain degree of historical knowledge and awareness of our tradition so that we can emotionally and intellectually comprehend its beauty and stratification and absorb that--which is a process that in turn profoundly affects man's consciousness of history and tradition. Through the variety of such interactions, our art legacy helps to a not insignificant degree in forming real humanistic value and conduct orientations, in shaping socialist human attitudes toward work and nature and, not last, developing man's capacity for experience and enjoyment and his taste.⁹ Cultural institutions, the mass media, the schools, and all state and social forces must use the great opportunities for it by means of a still greater wealth of ideas.

In the future it will be necessary to create still more awareness of the various internal points of reference between our socialist German national culture and our international cultural heritage. Above all, the development of socialism into a world system has given us the task also to develop a deep internal, prominently emotional relationship with what the others have become, their struggles, victories and problems. Any given national cultural legacy receives broader opportunities for becoming effective from the friendly cooperation among the socialist countries while it more strongly penetrates into the intertwining between national and international cultural development. Opportunities and impulses arise here which today can hardly be foreseen in their whole dimensions and which must systematically be developed and used in the cultural cooperation among the fraternal socialist countries.

Our party policy is aimed at the well-being of the people and of each individual person. Our declared objective is to raise the whole personality of working man onto a cultural level that is commensurate to the highest material, ethical and aesthetic achievements mankind has produced. Therefore it is our task to create ever fuller awareness of culture, the arts, and aesthetic experience and conduct as something fundamental, elementary, inviolable for the development of socialist society as for the existence of each individual, and as a firm component of our social policy.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Aesthetik Heute" (Aesthetics Today), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 41, see also Rudolf Juerschik, "Aesthetische Beziehungen" (Aesthetic Relations), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976; Hans Koch, "The Function and Effect of Literature and Art in Forming a Marxist-Leninist Image of the World and Forming Communist Ideals and Value Concepts," "Literaturunterricht und kommunistische Erziehung der Schuljugend" (Literature Instruction and Communist Education of School Youth), VEB Volk und Wissen publishing house, Berlin, 1979, pp 7 ff.
2. Cf. Karl Marx, "Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), supplementary volume, first part, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1968, pp 516-517.
3. Cf. Johannes R. Becher, "Das poetische Prinzip" (The Poetic Principle), "Gesammelte Werke" (Collected Works), Vol 14, Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1972, pp 432-433.
4. Cf. Moissej Kagan, "Vorlesungen zur marxistisch-leninistischen Aesthetik" (Lectures on Marxist-Leninist Aesthetics), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974, pp 220-221
5. Cf. *ibid.*
6. Cf. Johannes R. Becher, "Macht der Poesie" (The Power of Poetry), "Gesammelte Werke," Vol 14, p 157.
7. For systematically fostering cooperation in this field on a central and, mainly, territorial level, there were published in 1980 "Principles for the Further

Improvement of the Cooperation Between the State Organs in Construction and Culture in the Field of Urban Construction and Architectural Art in Urban Design, the Preparation and Implementation of Measures in City Planning" and guidelines were agreed upon for their implementation. That has created sound foundations for solving those tasks in the 1980's.

8. Cf. Alfred Kurella, "Das Eigene und das Fremde" (Our Own and That of Others), Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1968, p 302.
9. Cf. Horst Hartmann, "The Specific Contribution by the Appropriation of the Literary Heritage to the Development of the Image of the World and the Relations to History and the Tradition by the Young Generation Today," "Literaturunterricht und kommunistische Erziehung der Schuljugend," loc. cit., pp 55-56.

SED Scholar on Cultural Revolution

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[Article by Prof Dr Hans Koch, candidate member, SED Central Committee; director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC: "Nature and Road of the Socialist Cultural Revolution in the GDR"]

[Text] The socialist cultural revolution is one of the intrinsic elements of the general inevitabilities in the construction of the new society. Proceeding from that consideration it is being shown that socialist culture, further developing in the GDR as a culture of the workers class and all working people, comes combined with the formation of a new mode of life, and that the gradual improvement of the material and cultural standard of living is, objectively, as much part of this process as the further development of all of men's creative potentials. Labor in society is the foundation for socialist culture and the source of cultural creativity.

Among the general inevitabilities in the construction of the new society is "the materialization of the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture."¹ This today is an international experience in the transition period from capitalism to socialism and the shaping, or perfecting, of the developed socialist society. Carrying on the socialist cultural revolution belongs among the profound historic changes through which the developed socialist society takes shape.

It was not by accident that Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev asserted at the 26th CPSU Congress: "In the period of developed socialism, the transformation of all social relations is brought to completion on the collective foundations that are inherent to the new order. This transformation embraces the material as well as the intellectual field, our whole way of life. For developing our personality ever more completely, great material and intellectual opportunities are given to us, and we shall continue and enhance them. But at the same time it is important for everyone to know how to use them reasonably."²

The Nature of the Socialist Cultural Revolution

The point in the process of the socialist cultural revolution is to create all-inclusive cultural conditions, contents and values that expedite the shaping of a new socialist way of life and the formation of universally developed personalities. At the Ninth SED Congress Comrade Erich Honecker made the point that the penetrating changes that are giving shape to the developed socialist society are also taking place in the intellectual-cultural field. The enhanced educational level is a basic element of socialist life because, after all, extensive knowledge and insights are indispensably prerequisite to human creativity. Socialist development under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution makes the appropriate requirements more important. "The working people's intellectual-cultural interests and needs not only increase, they also become more diversified. The features of socialist personality are becoming ever more pronounced. These are men with sound education and ideological conviction, and with broad horizons--conscious and energetic builders of the new world of socialism and communism."³

The socialist cultural revolution brings the formation of a historically new type of human culture to completion, a culture of the workers class and of all working strata of the people, indissolubly connected with the shaping of a "new man" and a new way of life. It is important here to structure socialist culture as an organic extension of all the progressive culture in one's own people and in humanity. The socialist cultural revolution evolves and makes flower the various socialist national cultures in close interaction with the cultures of the various socialist nations and their continual effective mutual enrichment.

The transformation in the cultural field, melded with the transformation in the ideological field, also comes about as an irreplaceable, specifically cultural contribution to the development of all fundamental social, economic, political and other processes in any given developmental phase of socialist construction. It is indispensable for releasing all values, advantages and impulses of socialist society. It is indissolubly tied up with bringing the profoundly humanistic meaning of socialism to realization.

An Integrated Revolutionary Process

The course of the cultural revolution in our country has proceeded--despite all the clearly visible caesuras and markedly differentiated tasks in the various phases--through the continuity of a cultural and cultural policy movement, which the 10th party congress is no doubt going to provide further powerful impulses for.

What we in the GDR call the "antifascist-democratic revival of German culture" is one of the great achievements and lasting, and lastingly effective, accomplishments of the integrated process of this transformation. It combined out getting away from fascist ideas and the revolutionary solution for democratic and anti-imperialist cultural tasks with approaching advanced tasks, with a maximum spread of strong elements of socialist culture, the creating of favorable conditions for a multifaceted shaping of the socialist character of our culture, and the unfolding of the creative capabilities and social activities of the working masses as a chief process of the cultural revolution.

With laying the foundations for socialism, socialist culture in the GDR irrevocably became the predominant culture in town and countryside, in art institutions and universities. It passed its test in this matter in coping with more than just one difficult trial. Culture became a more and more pronounced and comprehensive mark of a socialist national culture in the GDR. There is no fixed point which could mark this qualitative conversion. It is the outcome of our whole development since 1949, and its roots in the German cultural movement may be traced from there for another 100 years back into the history of the German workers movement.

From the outset our Marxist-Leninist party acted from the conviction and with the responsibility that it alone exercised legitimate leadership in the cultural renewal and transformation. As the conscious and organized vanguard of the workers class, it implemented this leadership in every stage through a broad alliance with cultural-creative forces of various social and ideological persuasions. In this the formation of a strong socialist intelligentsia--coming mainly out of the ranks of the workers class and the other working strata of our people--was one of the most important cultural achievements the party initiated. In this steady intellectual struggle the party resolutely turned down any anticommunist slander and anti-Leninist attacks.

Socialist culture subsumes all values of genuine humanity, of the desire for peace, of antifascism, the interests in pursuit of the people's well-being, and anti-imperialist solidarity--and not only those that have come down to us from the past. Therein precisely lies the basis for permitting the workers class to move ahead in every phase of the cultural revolution in a broad alliance with all forces of humanistic persuasion.

In the shaping of the developed socialist society, the further transformation starts out from a new sociohistorical and cultural level. It now bases itself on preconditions understood as socialism's "own foundations" in the cultural field too. That is demonstrated mainly by the historic creativity of the masses and their attitudes in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, and by the proven ability of the workers class and its alliance partners to manage the state and the economy. The commensurate degree of maturity is reflected by such fundamental ideological and cultural facts as the firmly rooted socialist awareness by large parts of the workers class and other strata, the predominance of the Marxist-Leninist ideology in the intellectual life, the construction and effectiveness of the socialist educational system (with the 10-grade general education polytechnical secondary schools as its core), the spread of socialist realism as the dominant mode of artistic creation and its strongly taking root within the people and other matters like that. What previously had appeared the objective of great transformations now enters into the conditions for continuing penetrating cultural changes.

The social nature of our culture keeps developing further as the culture of the workers class and the entire working people--but now on the basis of essential changes in the social structure implying penetrating cultural changes. When compared with the point at the beginning, they are as apparent among the workers class as among the cooperative farmers and the socialist intelligentsia.

In the course of the cultural revolution the deeply humanistic meaning of socialism becomes ever more pronounced. Always is it aimed directly at "creating all the conditions for the social relations and physical and mental abilities of men to be able to unfold fully and providing all possibilities for them to be able to give meaning and culture to their lives."⁴

Among the fundamental goals of our party policy for the good of the people is to ensure and gradually further enhance the material and cultural standard of living through high achievements and efficiency in socialist production.

The 1970's ushered in mostly remarkable growth rates in cultural goods and achievements. The GDR's cultural standard of living is rather high. Our republic is among the countries with the greatest television density (television sets per 1,000 inhabitants). It stands in the front rank of the "countries that read." Not only in that respect is it ahead of so highly developed a capitalist country as the FRG, but equally so in the number attending concerts, museums and exhibitions, educational events and sites of our cultural heritage. Yet when one compares the number of persons attending cultural events and performances in the various bezirks of our republic with one another, it turns out that there still are considerable differences. By objective conditions and factors alone this cannot be explained. It becomes clear that noteworthy reserves can be found even within the given opportunities for taking advantage of cultural goods and services, so as to further enhance our cultural standard of living.

This is not the place to comment on the difficulties in satisfying those ramified legitimate cultural needs where such satisfaction is ever more strongly wanted--also because it is the unit by which we measure our cultural standard of living, be it diversified relations with nature, entertainment and sociability of various forms, dance, games, personal hobbies and so forth.

The solving of the housing problem as a social problem, in which the party is purposefully engaged, the effective implementation of the housing construction program, is a cultural achievement of high rank. We now experience in a positive sense what Engels once had in mind when he wrote about the poor conditions of proletarian housing in Manchester: "Satisfying the needs for housing will be a yardstick for how all other needs are satisfied."⁵ In the implementation of the housing construction program on the one side and the concern for cultivated working conditions, on the other, lie the major concerns at present for developing a material culture appropriate to socialism.

The imperialist enemy stubbornly seeks to malign the party's concern for the material welfare of the people as a surrender of humane, idealistic and moral, intellectual-cultural values and value orientations. Material well-being, however, is no isolated entity in our society. Raising the material and cultural standard of living is an element in our basic economic law, the material and the cultural forming a dialectical unity. This unity is the specific mark of what amounts to both the level of the standard of living under socialist conditions and the social quality of the socialist way of life.

Withal, it could still be more of a part of our intellectual-cultural life to engage in public debate on the meaning and purpose of consumption in our society, man's relationship with objects, with "beautiful things," goods and social services, on the connection between the standard of living and the content of life, and on forming a value system which also in this respect would satisfy the socialist way of life.

Work--Creativity--Culture

Labor is the centerpiece of the socialist way of life, the source and spring of action for decisive values in socialist culture. That the working people's labor is free from the chains of capitalist exploitation and alienation is of far-reaching cultural consequences. Socialist labor turns more and more into the essential foundation and impulse for cultural creativity. Creative demands and capacities, communal relations and personality values are evolving from it that are indissolubly tied up with any further advances in culture. Being free from exploitation, labor in socialism, among other things, objectively demands of the working people an all-inclusive development of socialist work culture, the coping with a personal "time economy" and the acquisition of broad overall views for understanding economic and social frames of reference. Simultaneously, due to the new content of labor, there develops among the working people the need for intellectual-cultural compensation for their exertion in their diligent, intensive labor activities.

The orientation to higher goals in cultural development thus is principally determined by the creative demands and requirements of socialist labor. The ninth party congress asked for systematically developing the knowledge, skills, awareness, inventiveness and diversified interests of the working people and for developing their creativity. In this connection it constitutes a "major direction of socialist cultural work" to provide, much more broadly and at higher quality, a wide field of activity for all creative inclinations and interests of men, "develop their diverse talents and abilities and form a creative attitude toward life."⁶ Remarkable advances have been made in this direction, not least because of the activities of the Culture League. Nevertheless, the spread of cultural work by the people that is needed for that altogether still remains below the opportunities at hand.

The people's initiative in preparation of the 10th party congress in the early 1980's set new criteria for the working people's creativity which also must more strongly inform the cultural movement--in Lenin's sense of entering into ordinary life, into the culture of men. We may point out here a few elements of this new quality.

One impulse for moving ahead is found in an implacable performance comparison (among comparable work collectives on the one side and among fairs, for world standards, on the other). That suggests that the question about the motivation in the intention to perform creatively and about the inherent personality values, about impeding attitudes, and about moral (and of course also objective material) conditions for success and failure, should be placed much more in the focus of our intellectual-cultural life. For this, it seems to me, one cannot ignore the trend toward higher individuality in exemplary achievements by innovators and rationalizers. Such achievements more than ever bear a personal signature and answer the question about an individual, personal contribution to solving new and extremely complicated tasks.

A much greater personal concern shown for overall economic tasks and requirements is--as Comrade Erich Honecker explained in Gera--one of the most remarkable recent manifestations. That is undoubtedly connected with a more mature developmental form of the impulses of socialism based on an identity, on principle, between social and personal interests. Are we already sufficiently concerned intellectually--and this also means with respect to many works of art--with the "productive" relations between overall social and personal interests, and with its signifying a gain in human individuality?

Things move ahead best where the intellectual potentials of the production process are nothing the worker thinks alien, where key problems in scientific-technical progress are recognized and intellectually worked out and coped with. Even so, contents and structures of our intellectual-cultural life may still more strongly produce an affinity with new scientific-technical processes and results and altogether--also by means of the arts--make us still more aware of the sources of creativity.

In socialist development in action, notably in the sphere of labor, requirements are evidently becoming ripe which ought to induce us to look still more deeply into the factors behind creative activity and derive still stronger impulses for such activities.

A Great Human Demand

At the sixth central committee session in 1972, which dealt with the questions of our party's cultural policy, Comrade Kurt Hager said that socialist culture embraces the whole intellectual, ethical, aesthetic and emotional development level of man, the totality of his knowledge, skills, talents, modes of conduct, attitudes and convictions, his social habits and his pleasures. He put it this way: "In all fields we must work out and enforce our socialist position, our value judgments, our perceptions of life, our social psychology."⁸

Much has been done in that direction in recent years--especially by works of literature and art--, also in the sense of a party-minded criticism of whatever does not measure up to our value criteria and positions. The vivid concreteness and radiating strength of paintings presenting the inner world and external relations of men in socialism have added to the cultural wealth of our socialist society. And this remains valid: "In their taking part in structuring and shaping our socialist image of personality, multicolored, rich and ramified, our ethics, and our concept of man, concretely in its relevance to the maturing of socialism in all domains of life, our artists are working on the main thoroughfare of our social progress."⁹

That holds true not only for the arts but for the totality of our cultural life. While no materialist would want to ignore the basic material conditions and stimuli for personal modes of conduct, it also would not be dialectical to slight the moral factors and impulses in all the forms of social action and human community.

How is man to live? What for? And how not? Which ideals should he commit himself to, which "vital strategies" should he follow--and which of them are morally wrong? Ethical culture evolves and materializes in the field of tension between what is personally and what is socially significant. That is always based in our society

on the possibility of identity between personal orientations and the objective necessities of social and historical development. Merely adapting to what is socially necessary would not satisfy the desirable level of ethical culture, the full unfolding of personal and social energies. Only personal convictions for which one is willing to stand up, decisions of one's own, tested and tried through conflicts, personal ideals and value orientations which harmonize with lofty social objectives and far-reaching historical perspectives, meet the demands of a high ethical culture commensurate to a developed socialist society.

Ethical problems, the questions about the sense and purpose of human existence in the struggles of our time, about the place and value of human individuality within the society at large, about the strength and impotence of man in the course of history, his reasons for certitude about the future or for his dreading the perils threatening mankind, and about the individual's claim to happiness and the social and personal conditions for bringing it about--such questions are playing an increasingly greater role both in the intellectual struggles of our age and under the conditions of the significant advances of socialism in the GDR.

In the course of the socialist cultural revolution the time has arrived where we must address a wealth of such questions--not only in the sense of deriving a basic orientation but also of a contribution to their solution on a new and elevated level of socialist development with all the new conditions and contradictions deriving therefrom. This great humanistic claim and the moral-political maturity typifying the developed socialist society make it necessary to give much more thought to it.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Declaration of the Conference of Representatives of the Communist and Workers Parties of the Socialist Countries, Held from 14 to 16 November 1957 in Moscow," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1957, p 14.
2. L. I. Brezhnev, "26th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 78-79 and 86.
3. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 90.
4. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 22.
5. Friedrich Engels, "The Situation of the Working Class in England," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1957, p 297.
6. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 103.
7. Cf. Erich Honecker, "On Topical Questions of GDR Domestic and Foreign Policy," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 October 1980, p 5.
8. Kurt Hager, "Zu Fragen der Kulturpolitik der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1972, p 13.
9. Ibid., p 45.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF HER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 4/5, Apr-May 81 signed to press 13 Mar 81
'Resumes' addendum

The SED--Leading Force in Improving Management and Planning

[Summary of article by Guenter Mittag, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for economic affairs; pp 340-348. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Mittag on Flexibility in Planned Economy, Role of Combines," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] An essential part of the implementation of our party program lies in further shaping our socialist planned economy. Based on a correct social strategy, the objective is to use all advantages and impulses of socialism at a social scale for the benefit of the people. Our party has elaborated such a strategy and responds on its basis to the new questions of economic growth. Thus the socialist planned economy demonstrates its flexible reaction capacity to new demands under altered reproduction conditions. It gives evidence to its dynamics in that the party resolutely implements its leading role.

Reflections on the Eve of the Party Congress

[Summary of article by Albert Norden, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; member, GDR Council of State; pp 349-353]

[Text] With deep satisfaction the author, who has invested his whole life in the party for six decades, remarks that dreams of his youth he once believed in the far distant future are already assuming tangible shape in the developed socialist society in the GDR. He makes a special point of the profound importance of the Eighth and Ninth SED Congresses, emphasizing this: our party has always pointed out the correct course because it has always kept faith with Marxism-Leninism. The German communists' struggle for a socialist fatherland has found its fulfillment in the GDR.

FDJ Strength Through Party Guidance

[Summary of article by Egon Krenz, candidate member, SED Politburo; first secretary, Central Council, Free German Youth (FDJ); pp 362-369]

[Text] The founding of a united political mass organization of youth in conjunction with the creation of working class unity as a historic decision on behalf of the young generation. What about the readiness of youth to make its contribution to the all-round strengthening of the GDR? How is the FDJ meeting its test in educating, under SED leadership, steadfast fighters for establishing the communist society, encouraging youth creativity and initiative, involving them actively in coping with scientific-technical progress, and developing a rich intellectual-cultural life?

Thirty-five Years of Struggle for Peace

[Summary of article by Oskar Fischer, member, SED Central Committee; GDR minister for foreign affairs; pp 370-376]

[Text] Peace has always been a fundamental concern of the struggle by the working class. Safeguarding it has always been the focal point in the policy of the SED ever since it was founded 35 years ago and has become an irrevocable constitutional maxim of the workers and farmers state under its leadership. In firm fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community, the GDR is making its contribution, even under the more complicated conditions, to frustrating imperialist confrontation policy, continuing detente, ending the arms race, enforcing practical disarmament steps and thus making peace more secure.

Historic Significance of the Founding of the SED

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Ernst Diehl, member, SED Central Committee; deputy director, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED CC; chairman, GDR Council for History Studies; pp 377-384]

[Text] The KPD-SPD merger that led to the SED in April 1946 was of far-reaching historic importance. The three and a half decades since have confirmed: with the founding of the SED, the united revolutionary vanguard of the workers class was created, under the leadership of which it became possible to bring about the most incisive turning point in the history of our people and take the extremely successful path of peace and socialism in the GDR, for the smooth continuation of which throughout the 1980's the 10th SED Congress resolutions are going to point the way.

In the Spirit of Ernst Thaelmann

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Guenter Hortzschansky, department head, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 385-391]

[Text] Turning the KPD into a strong Marxist-Leninist party closely affiliated with the masses was Ernst Thaelmann's most important achievement. The GDR's historic achievements, especially the most successful years thus far since the eighth party congress, were possible only under our party's leadership in which all principles of a new type of party which Ernst Thaelmann struggled for are firmly anchored, proving their vitality in the everyday acts, thoughts and sentiments of each communist.

Bound to Our People and to the International Revolutionary Movement

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Joachim Boehm, sector chief, SED Central Committee; pp 392-398. A West German commentary of this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] The SED always--in abiding by the revolutionary traditions of the workers movement--lets itself be guided by that a policy for the well-being of its own people and resolute internationalist action condition each other reciprocally. This basic position conforms with the active contribution the SED is making to the constant deepening of its fighting alliance with the CPSU and the Soviet Union and with its efforts in consolidating the action community of the international communist movement and its solidary support of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

West German Commentary on Prof Boehm Article

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 54, 7 Apr 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin "SED Reproaches West Over Poland: Polemics Against Free Trade Unions and Against Any Opposition"]

[Excerpt] The SED has reproached the West for being engaged in a "subversive diversionary and interference policy" vis-a-vis Poland. It was mainly aimed at promoting nationalistic, antisocialist and anti-Soviet tendencies and bringing about a "counterrevolutionary erosion." "Imperialism" had undertaken special efforts to bring about the creation of "a nationalistic, counterrevolutionary opposition in Poland." The theoretical party journal EINHEIT reiterated in this context that the protection of the socialist social order was the "business not only of each state but of the whole socialist coalition." Party boss Honecker had once again assured the Polish communists of SED solidarity. That solidarity was based also "on the knowledge toughened by the tests of life of how necessary it is always to oppose the enemies of socialism with all determination." (EINHEIT No 4/5, 1981)

Economic Performance Growth--Foundation for Shaping the Developed Socialist Society

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolok, economist, candidate member, SED Central Committee; director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED CC; chairman, Council for Economic Research; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 399-405]

[Text] Our party has a clear strategy for the growth in economic performance we need. It takes account of the importance of the qualitative growth factors which derives above all from the consistent intensification of social production. The main thrust lies in the comprehensive use of most up-to-date science and technology data. This way--which especially is to be expressed by a higher degree of refinement of products--what matters is to make available more of an end product for the population, the economy and export while the production consumption is being reduced.

GDR in Process of Socialist Economic Integration

[Summary of article by Horst Tschanter, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 406-411. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] The CEMA countries, due to their stable economic growth, were able further to expand their position as the most dynamic economic region in the world in the last decade. What was the GDR's share in this as a partner in this give-and-take? How is our republic going to contribute to the deepening of integration in the 1980's and, in particular, continue the interlinkage of our economy with that of the USSR? What is needed for significantly improving the efficiency of our international socialist division of labor, and which role is played in this, above all, by the target programs and the long-range production specialization and cooperation programs?

West German Commentary on Horst Tschanter Article

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 55, 8 Apr 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Demands From Socialist States More Consistency in Delivery Obligations"]

[Text] The SED now has admonished the socialist partner states to be more reliable in their deliveries--without specifically referring to deliveries from Poland which either did not arrive or were delayed. The competent SED Central Committee department chief, Horst Tschanter, made the point in the most recent edition of the theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 4/5, 1981) that with the increasing intertwining of the socialist states' economies, each country assumed a greater responsibility "for strictly fulfilling mutually assumed obligations." Experience had shown that in the high degree of division of labor attained disturbances by belated or qualitatively inadequate fulfillments of reciprocal obligations often became apparent rather quickly and directly and ran the risk of raising such inadequacies to a higher power. Great efforts were necessary "to insure the realization contractually agreed upon of deliveries in terms of volumes, deadlines and qualities, through higher discipline and activity." The GDR was taking it for granted "that the fraternal countries are also doing everything to consistently meeting their obligations toward the GDR." According to reports from the GDR, delivery bottlenecks, for instance in pit coal, caused by the crisis in Poland, have recently led to problems in the economy and with supplies.

For Greater Efficiency in Our Agricultural and Foodstuffs Production

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Schieck, member, GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences; director, Institute for Agriculture and Foodstuffs, GDR Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs; and Dr Harry Reimann, economist, department chief in same institute; pp 412-418. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Measures To Improve Agricultural Production Outlined," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] The thus far largest production volume in crop and animal products was achieved by our socialist agriculture during the last five-year plan. Further developing these successes calls for further intensification as the key for high yields and services. The application of scientific-technical progress plays a central role in this. Which tasks arise from it for the development of our crop and animal production and of our labor capacity? Why does rationalization of necessity play the central role in this investment activity?

Maturing Process of Workers Class in GDR

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Rudi Weidig, director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 419-425]

[Text] How has the workers class developed, mainly on a higher qualitative level, while constructing the socialist society and in further being shaped as the producing class that exercises political power? Scientific-technical progress--a challenge to training and creativity. The article emphasizes the tendencies that developed the workers class into a physically and increasingly more mentally active class and the problems in making total use of our educational potential.

Proven Policy of Alliance

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Heinz Huenmmler, dean (prorektor), Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 433-438]

[Text] The founding of the SED and its significance to the firm alliance of the workers class with the farmers, the intelligentsia and all working people. Common basic interests unite the working classes and strata in the past, the present and future. Only through a broad alliance and under working class party leadership could the new socialist order be created and can the further shaping of the developed socialist society be coped with. In the struggle for peace and socialism members of all classes and strata are enabled to develop their creative potentials.

Communists--Leading Force in National People's Army

[Summary of article by Col Gen Heinz Kessler, member, SED Central Committee; deputy minister for national defense; chief, Political Main Administration, National People's Army (NVA); pp 446-452]

[Text] The decisive source of strength and power of the NVA and the guarantee for its being a genuine people's army come from its leadership by our battle-tested party. It pays the proper attention to the reliable protection of our accomplishments, cares for the training and education, the arms and equipment of the NVA, and implements its leadership role via the principle of military personal command, the activities of the political organs and party organizations, and the exemplary work done by the communists in the units and troop components, staffs and facilities.

Socialism and Antifascism

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Horst Schumacher, department head, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 453-459]

[Text] The antifascist position of socialism is rooted in its democratic, humanistic character and is pervaded with proletarian internationalism. The struggle against fascism is an element of the struggle for peace and social progress and finds mighty solidary support in the socialist states, above all in the Soviet Union. In contrast to the FRG, where a past not coped with causes concern as it is reviving, our republic realizes the legacy of antifascist resistance and fulfills that of the victors over Hitler fascism and of our people's liberators.

'Let's Get to Work, Objectively and Courageously...' (Johannes R. Becher's 90th Birthday)

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Horst Haase, research program director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 473-478]

[Text] Johannes R. Becher, communist and poet, was an outstanding representative of our socialist literature. He fused his poetic work indissolubly with his political commitment to the ideals of the revolutionary workers class, his active participation in the struggle against fascism and war, and his work as cultural politician and statesman. As a cultural politician Becher most realistically worked for everything he had been dreaming and singing of as a poet.

Education of Students in Communist Morality

[Summary of article by Dr Guenter Scholz, lecturer in pedagogics, acting director, Institute for Theory and Methodology of Education, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; pp 479-485]

[Text] Effectively preparing adolescents for work, for life in the developed socialist society, calls for forming in them stable class-bound political and moral attitudes and for shaping their education in communist morality in the Leninist sense. The systematic acquisition of specialized knowledge and the appropriation and shaping of communist moral values, norms and principles, must be combined with having the pupils actively participate in the solution of practical tasks in social development, so that the acquisition of knowledge and the gaining of experience are integrated.

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AID TO DEVELOPING NATIONS' HEALTH SERVICES DETAILED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 26 No 4, Apr 81 signed to press
3 Mar 81 pp 49-60

['Examinations and Surveys' feature article by Dr Eberhard Kaschel, GDR Ministry for Health: "Support of the Health System in Developing Countries--A Focal Point of GDR Solidarity Aid"]

[Text] In regard to the complex task of social reorganization, the health services in nationally liberated states perform an important function. They are part of the comprehensive political, economic, ideological, military, scientific, social and cultural revolutionary process of social development in these countries.

Expansion of the health services is imperative--not only because the concern for physical well-being is a generally humanitarian concern and because the quality of medical care is one of the standards against which peoples liberated from the imperialist colonial system measure the progress they desire. In connection with the overcoming of economic backwardness, the health services exert influence on the struggle for increased labor productivity. The social working capacity and the productivity of the working people are largely dependent on the population's state of health. The struggle against epidemics is especially urgent. Elimination of the causes of the most frequent infectious diseases and the struggle against malnutrition are focal points of medical care.

It is one of the responsibilities of the health care system to help to create humane working and living conditions, to eliminate heavy physical labor and factors injurious to health and to establish working conditions characterized by high standards of production. The health service thus meets a crucial requirement of economic development. In the development of national health services, the principal task is to ensure basic medical care for all members of society. It is toward this objective that the GDR's solidarity aid for nationally liberated states is oriented.

At the International Conference on Primary Health Care, which took place in Alma-Ata from 6 to 12 September 1978, the discussions focused on the principal tasks of primary medical care in the developing countries. With due regard for the experience gained in many countries--including the experience the GDR gained in developing its health services after 1945--the participants put special emphasis on primary health care as a "key factor" in a public health system varying in accordance with the respective political, economic, social and cultural structure--a key

factor they considered acceptable to all countries of the world. This primary health care is of special significance for the young nation states.¹

"The term primary health care denotes basic health services that are accessible to the individuals and families of the community at an acceptable price, through comprehensive participation and at a cost agreeable to the community and commensurate with the general standard of living. The primary health care is an integral part of the health care system of the respective country--in fact, it is the core of this health care system--and of the socioeconomic development of the community."²

Primary health care as the principal task in the development of a national health system--above all in the poorest countries--becomes more effective through coordinated interaction with the various levels and tasks of the health system, with specialized medical care, with medical research and development and with the training and advanced training of the medical cadres; at the same time, the health care sector must be proportionately developed in an equally coordinated interaction with the other social sectors and in accordance with the political, cultural and economic requirements. Primary health care "influences the mode of operation of the other elements of the health care system."³ Thus primary health care is of crucial importance for the overall quality of the health system, which in turn exerts a strong influence on the social objectives and economic development of the country. "The healthier the people are, the better they can contribute to the socioeconomic development, which in turn makes available increased funds and social working capacity for the development of the health care system."⁴ The health care system and the social and industrial development will have "all the more chances of success, the more they support each other."⁵

Nationally liberated states need a type of support that allows--with due regard for certain priorities concerning the problems to be solved--a complex approach to the development of their economic potential and of the other sectors of social life. This requirement is met by the GDR's solidarity aid, a key element of which is the assistance in the field of health care.

The GDR's solidarity aid for the development of national health services aims to ensure

- that this aid takes into consideration the people's basic need for physical and psychological well-being;
- that the medical assistance also contributes to self-help, that it meets the requirements of the recipient countries and thus is given in accordance with their needs and wishes and with the possibilities concerning further strengthening of the health services to be developed;
- that the development of a national health care system always takes place in harmony with the development of industry, agriculture and other economic sectors;
- that the medical assistance ensures the maintenance or restoration of man's greatest asset, i.e. health, from childhood until old age.

Observations on the Situation of the Health Services in the "Third World"

In regard to the level of health care, there are great differences among the nationally liberated states. In many instances, colonialism left behind degrading conditions in regard to medical care of the population. It is above all the African countries that have to struggle hard to overcome the effects of colonialism in the field of health care.

While socialist-oriented countries are making headway in regard to social security and genuine progress, including the development of health care, quite a few of the other developing countries have fallen behind in this field as well.

In contrast to most of the nationally liberated states, Vietnam and Cuba show as a result of their socialist development above-average values in the indicators marking the quality of a national health care system. These indicators include the per capita number of physicians and available hospital beds and the morbidity and mortality rates. The morbidity and mortality rates reflect the degree of medical care provided. Aside from the quality of medical care, they are influenced by other factors, the most important of which are the quality of nutrition, the social status of certain segments of the population and their position in the production process.⁶

As regards medical care in Vietnam and Cuba, for every 10,000 citizens there are available 20 and 50 hospital beds, respectively; by comparison, in prerevolutionary Afghanistan a mere 1.5 beds were available, and in Indonesia, 8 beds. Before the victorious revolution, Cuba had 2 physicians per 10,000 citizens, but by 1974 the number of physicians had increased to 9. In most of the developing countries, however, the number of physicians per 10,000 citizens is far below 10.

In countries distinguished by relatively developed production relations and advanced capital concentration and centralization--e.g. Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Iran, Singapore, South Korea and OPEC countries--there have "crystallized, primarily on account of close collaboration between foreign monopolies and domestic monopoly groups, elements of a state monopoly system of government."⁷ These countries provide a certain level of medical care, but it is adjusted to the requirements of capitalist development.

For all the differences in regard to medical care and morbidity rates, the young nation states have some elements in common, the most typical of which are the following:

1. The health services do not meet the requirements. One of the main reasons for this is the fact that before the liberation they were onesidedly oriented toward the needs of the ruling colonial powers. There is no uniform system for ensuring primary health care, nor is there a sufficient network of health care institutions, especially in the countryside. The differences between "privileged" individuals and those who are "disadvantaged"⁸ in regard to health care have not yet been overcome. The majority of the population are not guaranteed primary health care. They do not have access to in-patient treatment facilities of the largely centralized health care system.

In most of the developing countries, over 50 percent of the population--usually

approximately 60 to 80 percent--live in the countryside. The in-patient treatment centers and the physicians are for the most part found in the cities.

In 1973, Ethiopia had approximately 1 physician per 72,000 citizens. Only about 50 percent of the doctors worked in the countryside, where 90 percent of the population live. Of these physicians, approximately 100 were Ethiopians.

In Algeria, the physicians have been concentrated in the northern coastal cities, with the southern part of the country being neglected. The same situation prevails in Tunisia, where most of the physicians are found in the nation's capital, Tunis.

In 1975, South Vietnam had 147 hospitals with a total of 29,000 beds; all of these hospitals were located in cities, with Saigon accounting for 30 percent.

2. There is a great shortage of medically trained personnel. This situation tends to become aggravated, since with the overcoming of the colonial legacy subsequent to the attainment of political independence the number of medically trained personnel usually declines as a result of the return of foreign doctors and nurses to their native countries and the exodus of a number of the country's own physicians. Due to the insufficient number of native junior staff, medical care is greatly impeded. Thus, subsequent to the attainment of independence, the level of medical care, which is low anyhow, declines further. After the takeover of hospitals that before the liberation were headed by foreign personnel, there frequently arise management problems. On account of the "brain drain," this situation becomes aggravated. Thus, according to the UN Statistical Yearbook, in 1971 there were 345 physicians in Ethiopia, and in 1973, only 336.⁹ According to WHO data, in 1975 Nicaragua had 6.5 physicians per 10,000 citizens. After the victory of Nicaragua's democratic Sandinista forces over the Somoza dictatorship in 1979, the number of physicians available per 10,000 citizens decreased to 4.2.

Before the MPLA victory in Angola, there was 1 physician per 11,480 citizens;¹⁰ for the Portuguese, the ratio was 1 : 1,000, and for Africans, 1 : 75,000.¹¹ Like other colonial powers, Portugal had been trying to create in its colonies conditions that would be attractive to the specialists and the military personnel to be recruited for work in the colonies. In 1975, after the MPLA victory, almost all of the Portuguese physicians left the People's Republic of Angola; consequently, in November 1975 there were only 14 native physicians for the entire population. At the time of its takeover in 1975, the Luanda Rehabilitation Center of the People's Republic of Angola did not have a single Angolan physician. Without any medical care, the patients were left to their own resources; they were attended only by relatives.

Prior to the attainment of independence, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe had 18 physicians; in 1975, when the country became independent, there were 4 physicians, and in 1978--largely on account of the support by socialist countries--there were as many as 40, 22 of whom were from Cuba.

After the victory of the Vietnamese liberation forces, the unified country had at its disposal--in part on account of the "brain drain"--fewer physicians than had been available in the DRV alone. During the period from 1962 to 1972, approximately 25,000 to 28,000 physicians emigrated to the United States, having accepted offers

from that country.¹² From 1961 to 1975, 61,000 physicians emigrated.¹³ In Pakistan, every year 50 to 70 percent of the newly licensed physicians leave the country.¹⁴

3. In the countries liberated from colonial rule, establishment of a health care system is a complex process. The funds available are extremely modest. Usually, the situation at the beginning of the development of a new system of national health care is characterized by low-level conditions and by different forms of ownership of the existing health facilities, which meet the requirements only to a very limited extent.

In the 1960's, the annual per capita expenditures on medical care in the developing countries ranged from \$0.20 to just under \$10; for individual countries, the figures are as follows:¹⁵ Angola: approximately \$0.90; Mozambique: approximately \$1.10; Guinea Bissau: approximately \$1.45; Nigeria: approximately \$0.50; Thailand: approximately \$0.60; Malawi: approximately \$0.70; Sudan: approximately \$1.00; Guatemala: approximately \$2.40; Senegal: approximately \$3.50; Colombia: approximately \$3.50; Jamaica: approximately \$9.80. In the 1970's, this situation remained essentially unchanged.

By contrast, in the 1960's the GDR's per capita medical expenditures amounted to over \$100. This sum has been increasing year after year. Thus, at the end of the 1970's, the socialist state allocated to this sector approximately 5 percent of the national income, i.e. approximately 14 percent of the state budget. By comparison, in India the health care share of the 1973 state budget¹⁶ amounted to 2.4 percent-- i.e. a per capita health care outlay of approximately U.S.\$0.099. For other countries, the respective figures are as follows: Indonesia: 2.5 percent (\$0.38); Thailand: 3.2 percent (\$4.31); Ghana: 6.6 percent (\$4.20); South Korea: 0.9 percent (\$0.52); Mauritius: 11.9 percent (\$0.87); West Malaysia: 7.7 percent (\$5.64); Iran: 1.3 percent (\$4.31).

The technical and technological heterogeneity of medical care, which is characteristic of the in-patient treatment facilities in particular, and the provisioning of the hospitals with drugs and other medical supplies, which was undertaken by suppliers of the former colonial powers and other imperialist countries, did not meet the actual demand and reduced the foreign currency available to the respective country. This compounded the economic problems in these countries, which were also handicapped on account of their dependence.

The People's Republic of Mozambique is totally dependent on imports in regard to its requirements of drugs and medical technology. In 1974, imports of medical technology totaled approximately U.S.\$6 million. Seven capitalist countries, above all the FRG and Japan, accounted for 83 percent of the import volume.

Somalia obtained the medical instruments for its health facilities primarily from Italy and the FRG; drugs were for the most part imported from Italy, Switzerland and France.

The People's Republic of Angola, which likewise obtained drugs and medical technology from capitalist countries, above all from Portugal and the FRG, was faced with steadily rising expenditures for importing these products. In 1970, the drug imports totaled \$36.1 million; in 1971, \$35.2 million, and in 1972 and 1973, \$39.0

and \$62.9 million, respectively.

5. After the national liberation, the provisioning of the hospitals with medical equipment, drugs, medical-technical supplies and spare parts has in many instances been completely interrupted; consequently, the available equipment has not been fully utilized. Thus the material-technical implementation of the health services' objectives and the maintenance of hospital operations is rendered much more difficult.

Of great benefit is therefore the material solidarity aid, which helps curtail the most serious negative consequences and which serves to promote and shorten the process of ensuring stable material-technical supplies for nationally liberated states.

The situation of the health services is also characterized by phenomena that are a typical consequence of imperialist colonial policy. Large segments of the urban population live in slums. According to estimates, in 1970 approximately 50 to 60 percent of the African countries' urban population were living under such conditions.¹⁸ There are extremely grave problems in regard to waste management, hygiene and environmental protection; these problems are most apparent in the pollution of drinking water and contamination of food resulting from faulty disposal of garbage and human waste in residential and industrial areas. Most of the schools do not have toilets. According to WHO estimates, in 1960 only approximately 13 percent of the population in the African WHO region had access to clean water; in 1970, clean water was available for approximately 18 percent. Thirty-one percent of the urban population in the developing countries have clean water and 24 percent have toilets in their lodgings. According to Dr Liotta,¹⁹ only approximately 60 percent of the population of Argentina are provided with drinking water, and hygienically sound human waste removal is guaranteed not even for one-third of the population. Conditions are even worse in some African and Asian countries, where large segments of the population have neither toilets nor garbage disposal facilities and where large segments of the rural population have to drink unpurified water from rivers and streams.²⁰

As is evident from the high incidence of epidemics and communicable diseases in nationally liberated states, the unsolved problems in regard to hygiene and environmental protection seriously affect the people's health. Thus, in order to be able to improve health care in these countries, it is necessary to improve overall hygiene and at the same time promote environmental protection. One of the principal tasks in this complex of measures is to strive for improvement of the situation in regard to nutrition. The nutrition level is extremely low. There are typical deficiency diseases and the people--infants in particular--have no resistance to disease.

GDR Solidarity Aid

One of the basic political principles of our socialist state--laid down in the GDR constitution--is the lending of solidarity assistance to the nationally liberated states and to the national liberation movements in the world.²¹ The foundation of the GDR signaled the victory of the best traditions of the German working class and of the ideas of proletarian internationalism. Even at that time, when it itself was still in need of support, the GDR lent assistance to other states and peoples. This assistance included the GDR Government's declaration of solidarity with the struggle

of liberation waged by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the powerful anti-imperialist solidarity actions against the aggression of U.S. imperialism against the Korean people in 1950.

Material assistance--accompanied by the political-moral support--was first rendered for the reconstruction of Korean industry, agriculture, forestry, transportation and housing, which had been destroyed in the Korean War (1950-1953). A characteristic element of this support was the aid program for housing construction in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. During the period from 1950 to 1957, the solidarity contributions (excluding state contributions) amounted to approximately M 60 million.

During this period, the assistance rendered in the field of health care was already relatively extensive. For the most part, it consisted in the shipment of drugs and medical-technical products. A good example of the solidarity aid rendered is the assistance in the resumption of operation of the Hanoi "Viet-Duc Hospital" after the withdrawal of the French colonial power from Vietnam. However, the solidarity contributions in the field of health care still were rather sporadic. After 1960, this situation changed.

The 1960's can be considered the second stage in the development of GDR solidarity. During this period, the material assistance within the framework of the solidarity movement for the support of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America took on definite form. The GDR supported the antiimperialist struggle of the peoples of Egypt and Algeria. In 1961 alone, the material assistance lent to the Cuban people within the framework of GDR solidarity aid amounted to M 4 million.

At all of the developmental stages of the GDR's solidarity movement, the solidarity with the Vietnamese people was a crucial element of the GDR's internationalist policy and of its ties with the peoples fighting for liberation.

During this stage, the material solidarity contributions increased considerably. For the most part, however, they remained isolated actions. Aside from the supply of drugs and medical-technical products, medical treatment of sick and wounded individuals in the nationally liberated states assumed increasing importance. This development continued to gain momentum.

The period of the 1970's up to the present has been characterized by regular and qualitatively improved solidarity actions. In large measure, this third stage of solidarity aid also includes support for national health services.

The principal forms of health care assistance lent on the basis of state agreements usually are the following:

- Material assistance in the form of drugs, vaccines, medical instruments, medical technology, etc.;
- Construction or reconstruction of medical facilities;
- dispatch of physicians and other medical experts for the purpose of providing direct medical care;
- training of physicians and their advanced training in specialized and highly specialized medical care and training and advanced training of intermediate

- medical personnel in the GDR;
- dispatch of instructors to the respective countries for the purpose of training foreign medical cadres;
- free medical treatment of patients, especially specialized and highly specialized treatment in the GDR.

Shipments made up of drugs, of articles of medical, laboratory and hospital technology, and of products equivalent to drugs--such as sera, vaccines, dressing material, dried plasma and laboratory chemicals--constituted and still constitute a large share of the aid rendered. Taking into consideration the annual fluctuations, aid shipments of this type--including the aid rendered for the relief of natural catastrophes such as earthquakes--accounted for approximately 20 percent of the monies donated by the population for solidarity-related purposes. This is the equivalent of a 60-percent share of all solidarity aid in the field of health care.

The enormous efforts put forth by the GDR in regard to support of the development of health care--e.g. the establishment of orthopedic-technical facilities in Guinea, Cuba and Vietnam--are well known. By 1983, the Bavi Orthopedic-Technical Center (SRV), which the GDR is building at a cost of M 20 million, will be making a significant contribution to the medical treatment and rehabilitation of wounded soldiers and handicapped individuals. In the 1970's, the Hanoi "Vietnam-GDR Friendship Hospital" (formerly "Viet-Duc Hospital") was reconstructed at a cost of M 15 million so that it has been able again to carry out its tasks as a surgical center and as a training facility for young physicians. The reconstruction included construction of a heating plant, a sewage disposal installation, a new transformer station, a new sanitation system, a laundry, a sewing shop and finally the reconstruction of the medical departments, the operating theater, the intensive care center, the nursing wards, the central sterilization center, etc.

In 1970, the GDR Government presented India with the equipment needed for a children's rehabilitation center, a TB test center and a kindergarten. Approximately 20 countries were provided with educational materials. The GDR also assisted many countries by providing them with medical-scientific literature and by transmitting the results and experience obtained in medical research and practice.

In the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, there was established--at a cost of M 1.5 million--an obstetrics center, in which since 1979 150 to 200 babies have been delivered each month.

The following tables show that in the 1970's in particular the contributions to nationally liberated states that were made possible through the donations of the GDR population increased rapidly.

Table 1. Index of the Development of Donations by the GDR Population

1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
100	128	113	225	181	374	562	396	378	827	615

Table 2. Share of GDR Solidarity Aid in the Field of Health Care (% of Table 1)

1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
41.1	53.3	47.8	30.0	33.6	30.0	26.1	32.4	34.0	16.0	16.0

Table 2 makes apparent the large share of solidarity aid in the field of health care. In the 1970's, shipments of drugs and dressing material accounted for approximately 60 percent of this share; medical-technical products accounted for 5 percent; material-technical assistance in reconstruction work, construction and equipment of hospitals and other medical facilities accounted for 12 percent; free treatment of patients in the GDR (from 1971 to 1979, 2,600 patients) accounted for 10 percent, and the training in the GDR of medical cadres (physicians, specialists, and other medical personnel), for 8 percent.

Doctors and nurses assist in the medical care of the population. This assistance by qualified personnel, which is rendered in many liberated states, is assuming increasing importance. Even more important is the training and advanced training of foreign medical specialists. GDR-trained physicians are at work in approximately 60 countries, and in approximately 40 countries, over 150 physicians who underwent specialized training in the GDR are helping to ensure the physical well-being of the population. Close to 1,000 foreign cadres from 50 countries, who are now working in their respective fields, obtained specialized medical training in the GDR. The cadres were trained as orderlies and midwives (35 percent), medical assistants (12 percent), nurses (20 percent) and medical-technical assistants for laboratories and X-ray centers (10 percent).

Approximately 3,000 patients received medical treatment in the GDR. For the most part, these patients were wounded soldiers and individuals receiving specialized treatment unavailable in their homeland.

Altogether, the GDR's solidarity aid far exceeds the donations of the GDR population. Thus the GDR comes closer to attaining the objectives of the 2nd UN developmental decade--namely to make available to the developing countries 0.7 percent of the GNP as developmental aid--than do the OECD countries. According to the World Bank's 1979 world development report, in 1977 the official developmental aid rendered by the OECD countries amounted to 0.31 percent of the GNP--a decline of 0.04 percent as compared to 1975. By contrast, the GDR's international solidarity aid has been increasing continuously.

On the basis of the active solidarity aid rendered, the GDR can justly point to the exemplary results it has achieved in 1981, the UN-proclaimed "International Year of the Handicapped," in regard to assistance to needy individuals in its own country and also to sick and handicapped people in other countries.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Joint Report by the WHO Director General and the UNICEF Director, Geneva/New York, 1978.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. See K. Poikolainen, "Mortality Changes in the Developing Countries," in: "Demooekonomische Probleme der Entwicklungslaender" [Demosconomic Problems of the Developing Countries], Berlin, 1979, pp 169 ff.
7. H. Faulwetter and B. Wolf, "Divergent Developments of Capitalism in 'Third World' Countries," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 6, 1978, p 72.
8. Joint Report ..., op. cit.
9. UN Statistical Yearbook 1971.
10. World Health Statistics Annual 1966, Geneva, 1970.
11. IWIM [Institute for Scientific Information in Medicine], "Angaben zur Situation im Gesundheitswesen der VR Angola des Instituts fuer Wissenschaftsinformation in der Medizin" [Data Concerning the Situation of the Health Services in the People's Republic of Angola, by the Institute for Scientific Information in Medicine], Berlin, 1978.
12. "Employment Growth and Basic Needs--a One World Problem," ILO, Geneva, 1976, p 130.
13. P. Stier, "Neocolonialism Abusing Science and Technology," HORIZONT, No 4, 1980, p 8.
14. UNCTAD V, "Technology: Development Aspects of the Reverse Transfer of Technology," TD/239, Manila, May 1979, p 5.
15. Imberma, Gesellschaft fuer Internationale Wirtschafts- und Marktberatung [International Business and Marketing Consultants], "Der Pharmamarkt in ausgewaehlten frankophonen Laendern Westafrikas und der VR Angola" [The Pharmaceuticals Market in Selected French-Speaking Countries of West Africa and in the People's Republic of Angola], West Berlin, p 137.
16. V. Stolte and V. Heiskanen, "Family-Planning Concepts Reexamined: A Critical Review," in: "Demooekonomische Probleme ...," op. cit., p 190.
17. IWIM, "Angaben zur Situation ...," op. cit.
18. J.Z. Holzer, "Some Demographic and Socioeconomic Aspects of Urbanization in Africa," in: "Demooekonomische Probleme ...," op. cit., p 96.
19. Dr Liotta, Report at the 27th World Health Conference.
20. J.N. Guzevatyj, "The Demographic Aspect of Economic Growth in Developing Countries," in: "Demooekonomische Probleme ...," op. cit., pp 74 ff.
21. See Constitution of the German Democratic Republic of 6 April 1968 as amended in the Law Concerning the Amendment and Revision of the Constitution of the German Democratic Republic of 7 October 1974, Article 6, pp 11 ff.

GIEREK IN SECRET INTERVIEW DEFENDS LEADERSHIP

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 17 May 81 p 4

[Text] Edward Gierek, the Polish communist leaders who was forced to relinquish his post last year, will have to answer in the next few days for his part in the Polish crisis.

Throughout the seventies Gierek was chairman of the Polish Communist Party. He fell at the beginning of September last year. He has now ended his silence with an unusual interview with a Polish journalist. It is not expected that the interview will ever be published in Poland. Mika Larsson of Swedish Radio has sent a report to SVENSKA DAGBLADET on the first answers of the deposed party chief as to who is responsible for the collapse of Poland.

Edward Gierek feels that he has been deceived by the people around him, fooled expressly during July and August last year, the first months of the revolt. He says that he wanted to go to the strikers. And he thinks that he could have succeeded in calming them down and coming to an agreement.

Edward Gierek believes that it would have been more difficult to get to talk to the strikers during the latter part of the strike at the Lenin shipyard. But at the same time he thinks that if he had remained as leader many of the current problems could have been avoided. Not all but many.

He could not stay on, he says. He was sick. He himself wanted to leave.

Edward Gierek has talked for the first time since the revolt of the workers, but not publically. SVENSKA DAGBLADET has obtained from a well-informed source an account of this first interview with the deposed party chief since his fall in the beginning of September last year.

For the first time Gierek gives in the interview, which was conducted by a Polish journalist, his answer to the question as to who is responsible for the disintegration of Poland. The statements in the interview today suggest that it won't be published.

Political Mafia Leader

Perhaps the reason is the sharp contrast between the picture Gierek gives of himself and the average Pole's view of the fallen party leader as a person who in time became more and more corrupt, a man who ended up as a kind of political Mafia leader, indifferent to the people. To them he was like King Ubu convinced of his own indispensability, and fixed on one goal: to build up his own great wealth during his time at the top.

This is a picture which has a degree of support in the revealed statements made in recent months in the increasingly open Polish debate.

Edward Gierek in the interview represents himself as an honorable person, a person who not only wanted what was good but also did good.

He gives the picture of a leader who from the beginning was a prisoner of the rigid, decision-making structure, inherited from the past.

The leader who, despite strenuous efforts, was not given the right to seek the truth presents a distorted and embellished reality. And the leaders who actually was powerless, without the possibility of making his own decisions, restricted by collectivism, by the political bureau, by the central committee.

He says that his mistake was that he did not sufficiently control what was happening around him, that he did not fight strongly enough against the inheritance of the past.

A Scene from the Potemkin

One mighty Potemkin scene. That is how a group of Polish intellectuals described their country during the last years of the seventies in a critical, underground report. Poland as a theatrical play for the leader, a scene where the facades of the houses along Edward Gierek's course and new roads are built past the houses of poverty. Where millions are spent to maintain a front for the leader as he wanted it.

Edward Gierek says in the interview that the talk about false fronts along the leader's road is exaggerated. That he always tried, as much as he was able, to meet people and to face reality as it was, that he did his best.

When the mass strikes were a reality last summer, the political bureau, the highest decision-making organ of the Communist Party, did not want to let Gierek travel up to the strikers. They wanted, he said, the conflict to be met on the government level.

The central committee of the Communist Party met at the decisive moment, the tenth day of the strike. And Gierek stresses that under his leadership the negotiators for management at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk and the primary Warski shipyard in Szczecin were authorized to recognize the creation of new trade unions.

In the interview Edward Gierek avoids the fact that to the very end he pursued a line in the party's highest echelon to prevent any change of the trade union structure in society. In the same manner he says nothing about the tense struggle in the party's highest organ between those who refused to resort to force against the strikers and the majority which he himself led. The majority which categorized the revolt as a deliberate attack on the socialist system and which therefore must be broken by severe measures.

The history has not yet been written. But enough is known to say that it was, indeed, the commander of the elements of force, the current prime minister, army chief Wojciech Jaruzelski, and the current party chief, Stanislaw Kania, at that time chief of the central committee of the country's security forces, who prevented a blood bath by their refusal to go along with one.

Gierek assures us that he was forced to give way. He says that the new trade union federation ultimately was the only solution, according to his own convictions. The alternative, which he does not wish to discuss, involved tragedy.

Edward Gierek was removed from the central committee last autumn, officially, among other things because together with prime minister Piotr Jaroszewicz he had created an autocracy. A decision-making system which concentrated power in these two men and made the political bureau and the central committee into rubber stamp facades.

In the interview Edward Gierek says there were too many questions requiring the party chief's decision. He did not succeed in completely reforming the structure. He did not succeed in completely achieving his formula: "The party leads, the government rules."

"Not an Impostor"

"I am not a political impostor," he says. I was not making a career. I served the party and the working class for 30 years."

And who is to blame for Poland's severe crisis?

"Everyone," Gierek says. "Everyone who could have influenced the decisions but did nothing. I had the chief responsibility; I have never tried to avoid responsibility. But I cannot take the responsibility for individual decisions."

The responsibility must be shared.

The first interview with Edward Gierek after the revolt of the party leadership and the people gives the impression of a man who really is not defending himself. No, a man who has lost contact with reality. Who does not understand what has happened in the country he led for 10 years.

A man who was treated so long as a god-like figure that he has no perspective of himself and of his role.

A loser, not only as a politician, but even a lost soul.

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INTERNAL AFFAIRS CHIEF NOTES INCIDENTS IN MACEDONIA

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 30 May 81 pp 1-2

[Article by F. Tanaskova: "There is No Room for Concealing the Truth"]

[Excerpts] At the 29 May session of the Presidency of the Republic Conference of the SAWP of Macedonia, the introductory statement delivered by Mirko Bunevski [Republic Secretary for Internal Affairs] regarding the political-security situation in the republic, understandably aroused interest. In addition, he considered separately several recent incidents and behavior which have occurred for nationalistic-chauvinistic reasons and on a fairly broad scale.

In connection with the events in Kosovo and their repercussions, Bunevski said that, although the political-security situation in the republic is relatively good, the security situation in certain parts of the republic is becoming complicated, especially in recent days, as a result of specific chauvinistic behavior by citizens of the Albanian and Macedonian nationalities. Elements of this type are being expressed through increasingly frequent provocational chauvinistic behavior. They are being manifested in insulting references, boycotting and refusal to buy products and other consumer goods from citizens of Albanian nationality, by damaging of service establishments belonging to citizens of Albanian nationality, tendencies of certain students to overemphasize their national characteristics, motivated purely by spite and perverseness, as well as unusual relations of some students in connection with the traditional graduation nights accompanied by certain provocations, with a dose of chauvinistic intolerance and other unpleasant behavior and manifestations. All this creates a condition and psychosis of uncertainty and fear among the working people and citizens that these occurrences will spread further.

Through these manifestations and the created psychosis, courageous behavior has been exhibited by certain citizens of Albanian nationality, while, on the other hand, offensive behavior has been exhibited by certain Macedonians and members of other peoples and nationalities toward the Albanian nationality as a whole, which has caused honorable citizens of Albanian nationality to be offended.

In the educational sphere, regarding certain faculties in Skopje and in other educational institutes where there are students of Albanian nationality, there have been incidents of fighting, of insolent behavior toward Macedonian instructors, individuals applying to take their exams in the Albanian language, etc.

Moreover, in schools composed of students and instructors of mixed nationalities, emotional polemics have occurred, especially among certain instructors. A united approach to evaluating the socially damaging phenomena and behavior is lacking and they are proceeding along the line of seeking points of discord and conflict instead of points of unity and comradeship.

There are occurrences of indifference and nonchalant behavior on the part of certain citizens in regard to their obligations as decision makers in the system of social self-defense, and it is expected that the job of the Security Service and other social-political organs and leaders will be extremely difficult, which narrows the function of the broader system of security and self-defense.

Judgments are being made that the Albanians are observing a mass silence and that they are not carrying out differentiation, which is explained either as a reflection of solidarity with the incidents or as a reflection of shame and a guilt complex without guilt. Judgments are also being made that the Albanians were given too many rights and were too rushed in the cadre policy, which does not correspond to their true abilities or qualities. Certain individuals are manipulating the nationalist feelings and are attempting to play the role of the most concerned about their nation and its subsequent fate in light of the newest incidents and "predict" impass and gloomy prospects, but they are failing to take into account the achieved values by which our peoples and nationalities are firmly united by fate.

It is characteristic that the incidents and situation in Kosovo are the main topic of discussion in all the media, making the pronounced burden of these problems felt. This unnecessarily wastes time and energy and many other important and long-term problems are being neglected, which is provoking and inspiring national impatience and hatred.

Meanwhile, it has come to this state of affairs because of the information concealed throughout, because of the extreme limitations on the sources of information for a large portion of the opstina leadership. There were even cases when representatives of the information media were forbidden to attend meetings when a debate was held on the security situation resulting from the incidents in Kosovo.

These phenomena were sharply and unanimously condemned by the members of the Presidency of the Republic Conference of the SAWP of Macedonia and it was insisted upon that our citizens be accurately and effectively informed of what happens at our meetings.

From the wide-ranging debate the need emerged for forceful and constant action on the part of the Socialist Alliance, together with the Republic Conference, to achieve greater effectiveness of political action and timely and accurate informing of every citizen.

CHRONOLOGY OF KOSOVO EVENTS, 11 MARCH-3 APRIL 1981

Zagreb SEDAM DANA in Serbo-Croatian 16 May 81 Supplement to VJESNIK pp 18-20

[Chronology prepared by Salih Zvizdic on the basis of a special report presented to the members of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo]

[Text] It is indisputable that the disorders which have broken out in Kosovo with full ferocity, especially in mid-March and early April, are clearly defined as hostile and counterrevolutionary in nature. These demonstrations, as was recently stated in a meeting of the Provincial Committee of LC Kosovo [League of Communists of Kosovo], are an integral part of the organized activity of the domestic and external enemy along the line of Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

In an endeavor to portray as realistically as possible the development of events in Kosovo, we shall attempt to give their chronology on the basis of the special reports presented to members of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo.

Pristina, Wednesday, 11 March

1900 hours. It all seemed to happen by accident in the student dining hall in Pristina. The food that day was particularly bad, and the customary organizational shortcomings in the serving of the food, people waiting as long as an hour to get their meal, were particularly pronounced. A group of students began to turn over tables and throw dishes of food, they turned over a kettle of food, they broke windows, and they destroyed most of the furniture. The ringleaders were joined by others, and a group of about 350 students started down one of the main streets in Pristina, Ramiz Sadiku Street, and then into the central street of Pristina, Marshal Tito Street, where at that time there were thousands of young people taking part in the usual evening promenade. Along the way the group grew by another 100 young people or so, while the great majority of the people out walking, most of them high school and university students, looked on passively at the demonstrators, who were stopping and damaging cars and other vehicles on the road, without looking at whose they were or who was in them.

In front of the Assembly of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo and along the road all the way up to the building of the Provincial Committee of LC Kosovo,

both of these institutions being located in Marshal Tito Street, the demonstrators shouted slogans in Albanian: "We want better conditions" (housing and food in the student center) and "Food."

A group of leading officials from the opstina committee of the LC [League of Communists], the provincial committee and the university went among the demonstrators and after a lengthy conversation managed to persuade them to return to the student center. There negotiations began in which the law enforcement agencies did not intervene.

Someone, however, spread false reports to the effect that numerous students had been arrested and that "the police were torturing" them, and a group formed of about 200 students which went about the streets singing nationalistic songs and shouting "We want our comrades back."

2200 hours. The students from the student center and the group which had subsequently formed met in the plaza in front of the student dining hall. At that time there were about 2,000 students. Attempts to talk with the students were unsuccessful because the most vociferous among them hindered such conversations by making noise and in other ways. Other slogans were also heard at that time: "Some Take Political Office, While Others Are Without Bread," "We refuse to stay in basements any longer," "We want deeds, not words," and "Down with the bourgeoisie."

2400 hours. Law enforcement agencies surrounded a large group of students and kept at a distance of about 50 meters. Stones, curses and various threats began to shower upon the policemen out of the crowd, but the representatives of law and order did not retaliate, though some among them received slight injuries from pebbles.

Pristina, Thursday, 12 March

0100 hours. The demonstrators no longer reacted to the calls of the police to quiet down, but attempted to break the cordon of the law enforcement agencies with stones, sticks and anything they could find at hand. Three hours later the Committee for Nationwide Defense and Social Self-Protection of SAP Kosovo met and passed a decision that the law enforcement agencies could use force only if this was an extreme necessity.

0230 hours. Since all political means of persuasion were exhausted, and since pistol firing had begun from the ranks of the demonstrators, the decision was made to disperse the group, and the group was dispersed with tear gas and potards, and the majority went off to the student dormitory or to their homes.

0500 hours. The most persistent group of about 50 demonstrators remained right up until 0500 hours on the plaza between the dormitory, where they sang songs and shouted slogans. But then even that group dispersed.

Prizren, Wednesday, 25 March

1130 hours. A group of about 30 high school pupils and university students came into their common courtyard in Prizren where the buildings of the Junior Postsecondary Pedagogical School and the Pedagogical Academy, in which classes were being held at that time, are located. Shouting various slogans, the group called upon the students of those schools to join them, and when they were unsuccessful in this, participants in the group broke two large windows and started toward the building of the high school and the medical school, where once again no one joined them.

That happened to be market day in Prizren, and the high school and university students in the group went down the main street calling upon the peasants and others to join them. No one joined them. The group broke display windows of eight stores in the city, the windshield of one vehicle, and turned over another automobile.

1230 hours. Law enforcement agencies dispersed this group without using physical force; the group included high school students from two secondary schools in Prizren, and then students from the Junior Postsecondary Pedagogical School in Prizren and the Secondary School Center in Suva Reka.

Pristina, Wednesday, 25 March

0600 hours. The sendoff of the Youth Relay took place that day in Pristina. About 0600 hours a small group of students, obviously ringleaders, blocked the exits from three dormitories in Pristina and acting "on behalf of all the students" called for negotiations with certain individuals at the university and in the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists. This was granted them, and they called upon all the students to gather in the plaza in front of the dormitories, where about 1,000 men and women university students gathered. The organizers of the demonstrations, obviously prepared in advance, demanded the same conditions "as to housing and food" as at the "other university centers," and that their "arrested comrades" be released immediately. The representatives of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists and of the university tried to explain to the students--pointing out the difficulties, but also the achievements of the young University of Pristina--that all these problems have to be talked about with cool heads and under normal conditions. However, it was also evident at once that the organizers of the demonstrations, which obviously were well-planned and prepared in advance, were not interested in negotiations. At about 0700 hours the students began to boycott the negotiations and to issue challenges.

[Upper box, p 18] Sendoff of the Youth Relay

More than 40,000 citizens of Pristina, members of the Albanian and other nationalities, participated in the sendoff of the Youth Relay. Nothing hampered the program and television coverage which had been scheduled. Workers from work collectives and self-protection units saw to it that the organization of the sendoff went according to the program not only in the main square, but also on all the approach roads.

1200 hours. Banners bearing slogans appeared among the students, and individuals began to shout slogans. Here are some of them: "Long live Marxism and Leninism, down with revisionism," "We want a republic," "Long live the fraternal Albanian people," "Kosovo to the Kosovites," "We are Albanians, and not Yugoslavs," "Give back our convicted comrades to Kosovo," "Trepca is working for others," "We believe the working class," "We want unification of all the Albanian regions," "Unity," "A republic," and so on.

1400 hours. It was obvious that the activists were unable to achieve anything, and they withdrew from the group of demonstrators. About 1400 hours a sizable group of university students attempted to move into the city with the obvious intention of preventing the events of the afternoon related to the sendoff of the Relay. The Committee for Nationwide Defense and Social Self-Protection of SAP Kosovo, evaluating the markedly hostile character of the demonstrations, decided to prevent the demonstrators from going into the streets at all costs.

1630 hours. Law enforcement agencies of Pristina and forces of a special unit for suppressing disorders of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, which had arrived the day before in Pristina, surrounded the group and warned the demonstrators through megaphones that they were not to go where they intended. In return, however, the demonstrators attacked the law enforcement agencies with stones, sticks and everything that came to hand, but the law enforcement agencies forcefully opposed the demonstrators with tear gas, netards and rubber clubs, and managed to restrain them.

On that occasion 32 students were injured, one of them quite seriously. Most of the injuries on the arms and upper part of the body in the ranks of the demonstrators occurred when they attempted to throw back the canisters of tear gas and other chemicals that had been hurled. In these disorders 12 members of the law enforcement agencies were also injured, one very seriously. Two revolver shots were also fired from the ranks of the demonstrators, but no one was wounded. No member of the law enforcement agencies used a firearm.

1730 hours. The group of demonstrators was completely dispersed. About 200 demonstrators were taken to the police station, and 21 of them were kept in pretrial detention.

Pristina, Monday, 30 March

Less than half of the students attended classes in the junior postsecondary schools and university schools, and a variety of clever misinformation was spread among the students in order to keep the disorders going and to the effect that this was "only the beginning."

All of those days meetings of sociopolitical organizations were held in Pristina in which the events were analyzed and the general public was aroused into activity. There is still frequent mention of the "element of surprise," though it was already clear that nothing had been accidental and that a certain social character of the demonstrations at the outset was only a pretext for the organizers to involve as many students as possible in causing disorders.

Obilic, Monday, 30 March

1300 hours. In Obilic, a small place some 10 km or so from Pristina, about 200 pupils of the Secondary School Center, instead of beginning classes at 1300 hours, went out into the main street shouting the same slogans as those in Pristina and breaking the windows of stores. Law enforcement agencies broke up this disorder with petards, and the group dispersed. Some of the pupils, however, went off among the workers building the Kosovo B Thermal Electric Power Plant and asked them for protection. When a group of activists talked with the workers and pupils, the demonstrators went off home. This was the first case, however, where the demonstrators sought followers among the workers.

[Bottom box, p 18] Law Enforcement Agencies

During the first demonstration only the security forces of SAP Kosovo were involved, and all the law enforcement agencies in the province were put on a state of readiness. The highest bodies of the Federation and the Republic of Serbia were informed about everything in good time, and immediately thereafter those of the other republics and the Province of Vojvodina were informed. After the demonstrations were halted, law enforcement agencies identified 102 persons in the group of most vociferous demonstrators, 79 of them from SAP Kosovo and 23 from outside Kosovo.

The Number of Students

The student body at Pristina University numbers 37,000 fulltime and 14,000 parttime students, making it the Yugoslav university with the third largest student body. A certain number of these students are from other republics where members of the Albanian minority live, and the classes are given in Albanian for Albanians and in Serbo-Croatian for students of other nationalities. Though new dormitories have recently been built, they have only 3,787 beds, nor is there room in the student dining hall for all those who would like to eat there. The provincial self-managed community of interest for education subsidizes the housing and food, and the students pay 410 dinars monthly for housing and only 570 dinars for food (lunch and supper). Poor organization of work in the student center (where temporary measures were adopted on 11 May), the incompetence of the leadership and personnel to make better use of the potential that exists, intensified the trouble.

Incidentally, at Pristina University there are 4,800 members of the LC, organized in 62 basic organizations. In the total student body 11 percent are members of the LC, and 80 percent of the faculty are also members of the LC.

Injured

During the demonstrations and the intervention of the law enforcement agencies not a single student was seriously injured on 11 and 12 March. Two policemen were seriously injured on the side of the law enforcement agencies, one by a pistol shot and the other by a stone which left him without an eye. Eighteen members of law enforcement agencies received light injuries from stones.

Pristina, Tuesday, 31 March

The boycott of classes at the schools of the university was more extensive than in the previous days and showed a tendency to spread toward the high school. Some faculty members at the university also boycotted classes.

The Committee for Nationwide Defense and Social Self-Protection of SAP Kosovo intensified security at production and other facilities, where someone was always kept on duty, and mobile territorial defense groups were also organized. Plans for crisis situations were updated in all communities.

There was some ferment among the students in the student center that day, some letters were read out, little groups held meetings, but there were no disturbances.

Podujevo, Wednesday, 1 April

1100 hours. A group of about 200 pupils of the Secondary School Center had already gathered in the early morning hours and boycotted classes. About 1100 hours they moved toward the center of this town which is about 30 km from Pristina. The demonstrators were noisy with songs and shouted slogans and broke windows in shops and residences with stones.

1300 hours. When efforts to persuade the demonstrators to disperse were unsuccessful, tear gas was used, and the demonstrators were broken up into two groups. But since law enforcement agencies were short-handed, the demonstrators again gathered and began to cause disorders in the town.

1600 hours. After law enforcement agencies received reinforcements, the demonstrators were broken up into several groups, but they nevertheless managed to demolish numerous shop windows and stores, to break glass wherever they went, especially in the new motel and post office. Because the workers of the Poliester Factory refused to support them, the demonstrators broke glass at several places in that factory, and then, seeing that they would get the worst of it, they fled from the factory grounds.

The disorders came to an end about 1700 hours.

Some 10 demonstrators were injured in the demonstrations in Podujevo, 3 of them seriously. One policeman received a light injury.

Pristina, Wednesday, 1 April

1300 hours. A group of pupils of the Secondary Economics School and the Secondary Agricultural School, some 100 people or so in all, moved from the schoolyard toward the center of the city shouting "Republic" in unison. Law enforcement agencies stood in the group's way from entering the city, and prevented it without difficulty. Once they were broken up into small groups, the demonstrators dispersed in various directions.

1500 hours. Some of the unskilled construction workers working on construction of the Dardaniya Settlement joined a small group of demonstrators, and they started toward the Engineering Faculty and Law School, rhythmically shouting "Republic" and "Students." Law enforcement agencies did not want to oppose them, and the demonstrators went down the streets shouting slogans, but there were no other incidents. A bit later the group was joined by groups of workers from the storage battery factory in Pristina and from certain construction enterprises in Pristina and from the nearby combine in Obilic.... Individuals carried sticks and iron rods and wore workers' hard hats on their heads.

The demonstrators exerted strong pressure on law enforcement forces, which had surrounded them, and they showered on them a veritable torrent of rocks and everything they could find at hand. Since they had no power to shoot, the cordon of policemen broke, and the demonstrators reached the building of the province's executive council and the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists. Here they shouted the paroles "Kosovo Republic" and "Kosovo to the Kosovites" and "Long live Adem Demaqi," "We demand unification of the Albanian people," and the like, and in the plaza in front of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists they wrote in large letters the slogan "Long live Adem Demaqi" (the reference is to an inveterate irredentist who has been in jail for a long time because of attempts at irredentist organization).

It is estimated that about 3,000 people, about 2,700 of them high school and university students, took part in these demonstrations. Along the streets of Pristina the demonstrators broke the windows of stores, institutions and houses, turned over automobiles and broke glass in vehicles regardless of the license plate. In order to frustrate the resistance of law enforcement agencies, the demonstrators gathered the children from elementary schools and thrust them ahead of themselves. There were dramatic scenes, since the children, frightened by the shouting and the breaking of the shop windows, began to scream.

In these disorders, which were smothered about 2100 hours by action of law enforcement agencies, at which time the demonstrators scattered in every direction, 18 demonstrators were injured, 3 of them seriously, and 17 law enforcement officers were injured, 2 of them seriously. According to the official report no firearm was used on that occasion on either side. Law enforcement agencies opposed the demonstrators mainly with cordons of policemen, tear gas and rubber clubs, while the demonstrators used sticks, stones and pieces of glass.

Pristina, Thursday, 2 April

0900 hours. The disorders began even in the early morning hours. It was obvious that the demonstrators did not sleep that night, but had been organizing. About 0900 hours a group of workers of the Ramiz Sadiku construction firm, who were joined by a group of construction workers of the Kosovo construction firm of Vucitrin, which is 25 km from Pristina, gathered in front of the bus station and started toward the center of the city shouting slogans, but without other incidents. Law enforcement agencies broke up this group with tear gas in the Dardaniya Settlement, and it dispersed.

Here as in other towns the pupils and students rhythmically shouted the nationalist slogan in Albanian "We are Skenderbeg's children, Enver Hoxha's army." What were these references? Skenderbeg was an Albanian national hero who won a number of fierce battles to liberate the Albanians from the Turks at the end of the last century. But in the last war the Ballisti had a Skenderbeg SS division, which inflicted harm equally on the Albanian and Serbian and other nationalities in Kosovo, and the national hero of the Albanians whose name was borne by the division of SS troops takes on an altogether different intonation when combined with the words "Enver Hoxha's army." Many demonstrators did not actually know the real meaning of this slogan.

0900 hours. New groups in which there were pupils from the Xhevdet Doda Vocational Education Center and the Secondary School Center for Engineering, who had left classes, began to form at several places in the city around the shattered small groups. They were joined by groups of workers by the enterprises "Put" [Highway], "Vocar" [Fruitgrower] and "Crepociglana" [Tile and Brick Works].

1030 hours. Various groups formed in the city and around the city which attempted to penetrate to its center. In the village Devet Jugovica a group of demonstrators, town dwellers and peasants exerted pressures on law enforcement agencies, and the same was done by a group which started from nearby Obilic toward Pristina.

1400 hours. A group of demonstrators, workers and peasants blocked a small territorial defense unit in Obilic and then reached Pristina about 1600 hours. This group included individuals armed with firearms, which later they in fact fired.

1600 hours. Several groups, offering strong opposition to law enforcement agencies, reached Pristina or moved toward the center from peripheral parts of the city. A sizable conflict broke out between the group of demonstrators and law enforcement agencies in the residential settlement of Dragodani, but firearms were not used, and the demonstrators were dispersed. Two other sizable groups were broken up at the entrances to the city, but columns of demonstrators again formed from the little groups and they broke everything they came to, turned over vehicles, destroyed traffic signs and shrubbery, broke electric lamps, and threw stones at apartment windows.

Weapons were used on both sides, law enforcement agencies firing on two occasions, exclusively when there was an immediate threat to life, while the demonstrators fired various weapons. When reinforcements consisting of members of regional police and territorial defense joined the law enforcement agencies at about 2000 hours, all the demonstrations in Pristina were broken up.

In order to exert a psychological impact on the demonstrators the Committee for Nationwide Defense and Social Self-Protection adopted a decision that tanks would pass through the city. Military sentries were set up in front of economic and other facilities to protect them from possible damage. The movement of individuals was restricted from 2000 to 0500 hours; classes were suspended at schools and the university. After that law enforcement agencies in Pristina received reinforcements from other republics and the Province of Vojvodina, and those reinforcements are still there today.

There have been no major disorders in Pristina since 2 April, though there were minor attempts to bring about disorders.

Podujevo, Thursday, 2 April

Disorders began in the morning, at the same time as in Pristina, caused at the outset by a group of [redacted] but they were joined by several hundred individuals, workers and peasants. Since the highway from Kursumlija to Pristina passes through here, the demonstrators tried to close the highway and prevent law enforcement forces from passing which had been sent as reinforcements from Kursumlija to Pristina. Members of territorial defense units in Podujevo extended aid to law enforcement agencies in breaking the blockade with petards, rubber clubs and tear gas.

Vucitrn, Thursday, 2 April

1330 hours. Twelve workers of the Kosovo construction firm rushed into a class being held at the M. Bekteshi Secondary School Educational Center and called upon the pupils to join them in carrying out a demonstration. About 150 pupils responded, and, shouting hostile and chauvinistic nationalistic slogans, they began to visit certain work organizations in order to arouse the other workers. Since no one responded, the group gradually broke up.

Lipljan, Thursday, 2 April

1500 hours. About 400 vocational students burst into the city; they broke several shop windows and destroyed the gasoline station in the town. They were shouting hostile slogans, but they were broken up at about 1700 hours in a conflict with law enforcement forces.

Gnjilane, Thursday, 2 April

1800 hours. About 30 secondary students went through the city shouting hostile slogans. The group was dispersed through intervention of local law enforcement agencies.

Glogovac, Thursday, 2 April

1000 hours. Secondary students of two classes of the Secondary School Educational Center began demonstrations, they were joined by a sizable number of pupils and later by individuals who happened to be at the place where the weekly market day was being held. Several shop windows were broken and vehicles that happened to be on the street were dented, and some of the demonstrators used firearms, wounding one pupil. Some of the demonstrators damaged grave markers in the local cemetery. The demonstrators seized an automatic rifle from one member of a law enforcement agency, and it was later found. When law enforcement agencies received reinforcements, the demonstrations were broken up with the help of tear gas and chemicals. The organizers and most vociferous participants in the demonstrations were identified and taken to the police station.

Djakovica, Thursday, 2 April

1800 hours. A group of some 100 secondary and university students broke shop windows and shouted hostile slogans. They were dispersed by intervention of law enforcement agencies.

Pristina, Thursday, 2 April

The Committee for Nationwide Defense and Social Self-Protection ordered that plans for a crisis situation be activated in the afternoon hours and 100-percent activation of the wartime organization of law enforcement agencies. The movement of a sizable number of persons in public places was prohibited.

Orseovac, Friday, 3 April

0900 hours. A group of about 200 workers gathered in the yard of the Wood Combine; they did not obey advice to calm down, but left the grounds of the combine.

1300 hours. They went into the streets, where they were joined by a group of university and secondary students. So long as the group was small, it went peacefully along the streets shouting "Tito and the Party," but--as it was enlarged with new demonstrators--it began to shout hostile slogans such as "Demobilize the territorial defense unit in the combine," "We don't want tanks in the province," "Release our comrades from jail," "We don't want police from outside the province beating our children," and so on. The group grew to about 1,000 people, some of whom fired firearms, and members of law enforcement agencies also used weapons in self-defense. The demonstrators broke windows of stores and apartments, destroyed vehicles, demolished several kiosks, and broke glass and caused serious damage at the Ljuboten Hotel.

2000 hours. The demonstrations were broken up with tear gas.

Vitina, Friday, 3 April

1000 hours. A group of some 100 secondary students demonstrated in the town shouting the slogans "Tito and the Party" and "We want a republic, by force if necessary." Several shop windows were shattered. Law enforcement agencies dispersed the demonstrators with the help of faculty members.

Vucitrn, Friday, 3 April

1000 hours. A group of secondary students joined by a group of workers from the Polet Work Organization demonstrated in the streets carrying photographs of Comrade Tito, but also shouting the slogan "We want a republic, by force if necessary." They attempted to break into the Law Enforcement School, but were prevented. Relatives of the demonstrators, concealed behind house windows, fired on law enforcement agencies with firearms, and the policemen used weapons. The demonstrations were dispersed in the early evening.

Kosovska Mitrovica, Friday, 3 April

1100 hours. About 80 workers from the electrolytic zinc refinery, the Pafos Metal-working Shop and the Storage Battery Factory went into the streets and entered the high school building, where they compelled certain students to join their ranks, while others joined them voluntarily. They took a photograph of Comrade Tito from the building and carried it at the head of the column. In the Secondary Engineering School Center they compelled a certain number of secondary students to join them. They later broke into the grounds of Trepca, but no one joined them. Then they again went to the Storage Battery Factory and Pafos, shouting to the workers that they were "traitors" because they did not join them, but went on working. They broke the glass in certain factory buildings and went out into the streets, where they caused disorders, shouting the slogans: "Trepca is working for Serbia," "Long live the Kosovo Republic" and "Free our students," and so on.

These demonstrations were broken up by concentrated forces of law enforcement agencies without the use of firearms.

According to the official data the balance sheet of all these demonstrations up until 3 April looks like this: on the side of the demonstrators 8 people were killed and 130 injured, 55 of them with firearms. On the side of the security forces, 1 policeman died from wounds received from a firearm, and 135 members of law enforcement agencies were injured, 4 of them seriously.

In the disorders to date there has been extensive direct property damage approximating about 9 million dinars according to the first estimates. Law enforcement agencies had until that time taken 956 persons into custody and issued them warnings, 219 persons were punished for misdemeanors, and criminal proceedings were instituted against 45 persons.

YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] units did not fire a single shot in all these events in SAP Kosovo, nor did they participate in any way in breaking up the demonstrations. Their entire role was reduced to guarding economic and other facilities against damage together with local territorial defense forces.

Even after 3 April there were attempts in SAP Kosovo at disorders or various provocative actions, but without demonstrations or property damage. But the situation is not calming down. In mid-April the curfew order was lifted, and all the schools and universities are back in operation. The ban on moviehouses, theaters and sporting events is still in effect, but even so in the famous evening promenade in Pristina there now gather thousands of young people, Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and others, young boys and girls and other citizens who were not among the demonstrators and were not seduced by the external or internal activity and pressure of the enemy.

This is the documented truth about the events in Kosovo told in a way and in the space allowed by a newspaper article. Because of insufficient information about these events, in which a deep nationalistic indoctrination was manifested, especially in a portion of the younger generation of Albanians in Kosovo, nationalists

in our other regions took heart with what happened in Kosovo in March and April. In some of the descriptions of those dramatic days there are a great many fabricated tales and exaggerations concerning the injuries done to members of other nationalities in Kosovo or half-truths whose intention is to slake the thirst of each respective nationalism at the fountain of evil. This should be suppressed, just as it is necessary to return as soon as possible the mutual trust which was shaken by the events we have been discussing.

At this moment SAP Kosovo is characterized by a broader and broader political campaign aimed not only at dealing with the open and clandestine enemies of the freedom of Albanians and other citizens of Kosovo and of the peaceful development of socialist and self-managed Yugoslavia, but also at endeavoring to examine more openly than ever up to now the real causes which brought about that situation and all its consequences. It is certain that this has been one of the most difficult challenges confronted by our socialist society. The price is high, but the lessons will also be valuable, not only because of Albanian nationalism, but also because of all the nationalisms on the soil of multinational Yugoslavia.

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POLEMICS AMONG JAKSIC, MUHIC AND 'OSLOBODJENJE'

Sarajevo SPEKTAR in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 81 Supplement to OSLOBODJENJE pp 5-6

[Response of Dr Fuad Muhic to the essay of Dr Bozidar Jaksic published in KNJIZEVNA REC and statement by the OSLOBODJENJE editorial board on publication of Jaksic's response to Muhic: "Fuzzy-Headed Writer on a Donkey"]

[Text] Muhic Discusses "Leftist" Writing of Bozidar Jaksic

Our experience to date in polemics with various oppositionist platforms has shown that dialogues with them make a certain amount of sense mainly when they are conducted with their original inspiration, from which it is possible to grasp their ultimate motives and scope. But when the debate is joined by "people from another trench" (as Predrag Matvejevic did last year) or by half-baked ideologues representing those same platforms whose only aim is to get in the public spotlight somehow (since usually they do not have other qualifications), then the debate necessarily dissolves into farce, but it still compels us to drag them along with us and, what is still worse, to even expose them, in their runny-nosed immaturity, to a broader public.

Subconscious Malaise

That is the kind of farce that has been created these past few days when the editors of KNJIZEVNA REC published in their review the tendentious article of Dr Bozidar Jaksic entitled "Muhic Against Muhic," which was subtitled "Fuad Muhic's Response to Articles in OSLOBODJENJE on 24, 25 and 26 January 1980." If it were just a question of an author with a splintered personality who has opted for the role of the "dissident" of Bosnia-Herzegovina after the ethical and political debacle in 1973, we would not devote even a line of space in the pages of OSLOBODJENJE to Bozidar [this given name means "God's gift"--translator's note] Jaksic's thanksgivings in his two-part article (which might seem to be God's gift to those who think like him in the first and the other New Left trenches, but there is nothing in the entire statement than a specimen of intellectual bad taste). However, since Jaksic obviously speaks on behalf of an entire platform which has been fighting convulsively since Tito's death, unscrupulous as to its means, to impose itself as a "leftist alternative" to socialist self-management, his article, and also the timing of its publication (14 months after the rejection at OSLOBODJENJE) plainly indicate an attempt to force upon our public yet another discussion of that platform

and to rehabilitate it even in those of its acts (such as the support of nationalism in 1972) which have evoked general condemnation in our society. Since the reading public very often is interested not only in what is said about a problem, but also who is saying it, we should first examine the background of the author of this transparent piece of calumny for which the dialogue concerning anarchism in Arandjelovac (January 1980) was a convenient occasion to end up in altogether different political waters from those in which, under the guise of an academic discussion, he wished to sail with utterly incomprehensible self-confidence. Since the editorial board of KNJIZEVNA REC angrily dubbed my article "Hero on a Donkey" (SVIJET, 27 January 1981), though I didn't speak of it even in the remotest hint (unless it feels a subconscious malaise about the title of the series, which was "About the Public Opinion of the Marketplace"), I will recapitulate the main traits of the mentality of a Bozidar Jaksic which I attempted there to sketch.

Opinion of the Marketplace

Until 1968 this man had obvious political ambitions. He was one of those who went here and there in political institutions on their own and picked up pieces of delicate news "at first hand" in the morning hours and then in the afternoon would launch them in mysterious form at the university and on the basis of various half-truths would contribute to shaping a marketplace opinion fed from the offices of ministers. Jaksic is well remembered from that time by certain people who at that time were administrative aides to ministers from whom he would pick up such news in an hour or two of conversation and would then peddle it in the bar of the School of Political Science like a go-between who even at that time was well trained for this type of work. However, when he excluded himself from any sort of serious possibilities because of his elementary lack of political sophistication, his aggressive predisposition toward gossip and his distasteful lust for political office, he felt that in June 1968 his moment had come and he wanted to transform himself overnight into a leader of the New Left--a domestic Cohn-Bendit or Dutchke--the marketplace sat for a long time on its duff talking over the troubles that confronted him when in his party organization they said that he is not "the right one" and when they did not want to punish him. He protested in vain through the student press ("Why don't they punish me? What sort of discrimination is being practiced toward me?"). It gnawed at him that people who thought like him in other places had already been expelled and he assumed that people secretly suspected him of being "connected with both sides." Finally, when he found no way of arranging his expulsion from the LCY, he turned in his card himself, but he was very dissatisfied that his gesture did not evoke any response whatsoever in the press. When he wanted to compensate the bitterness of his hurt because of the publicity that was not forthcoming with a new challenge, he began to declare himself everywhere as the "left wing of our intelligentsia," though no one had asked him for that. (Incidentally, because of that insistence on the "left wing," he came to be called "Djaja" [a well-known soccer player named Djajic played left wing or forward--translator's note], which he barely escaped by leaving Sarajevo.) Since even this provocation did not bring him success, he began to use new means of proving himself--this time through numerous intrigues, which in 1973 led to his suspended sentence. It was said that he was not satisfied with this, since he wanted an unsuspended sentence which would have brought him publicity even outside the country.

Ethical Convert

In my article in SVIJET I compared this inclination for self-torture to the mentality of a "hero on a donkey"--a man who like the literary hero of the same name rides through the marketplace and publicly provokes the authorities so that he can land in jail and become a hero of the gossip in the marketplace. To his great dissatisfaction, however, the authorities time and again left him alone, since the marketplace itself had already denounced him as a crazy man whose antics it could enjoy with secretive jokes in the ribs and giggling as it slouched in front of the shops and which it could later retell and embellish in its hours of leisure (something like Andric's Corkan). I also compared the fairytale with Jaksic as our "leftist" hero on the donkey with the plot of the excellent film "Archimedes the Clochard," whose hero breaks a shop window in front of the police so that he might spend the cold Paris winters sleeping somewhere in a heated jail cell instead of under the bridges over the Seine. Archimedes was at first successful in getting arrested, but the police inspector, when he suspected the real motive of his antics, thereafter regularly returned him to the place under the bridge together with his clochard's bed, until Archimedes finally gave up his intentions and looked for some other place to live.

This is the Jaksic, then, who after the inglorious "Sarajevo" episode in which he accomplished a total ethical conversion from a busybody in political institutions and a deaf switchboard operator between one-sidedly interpreted "official" views and the always-hungry passageways of the marketplace to a half-baked leftwinger who hatched out in the mid-seventies in the intellectual marketplace of Belgrade to continue his old work of gossiping about everything that might have the remotest connection to the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina--that same Jaksic was so bold as to water down the entire dialogue concerning nature and the historical horizons of anarchism into the most banal and moralizing lamentation over the "ethical incision" which I made in the early seventies (1972 to be exact) when I exposed the political views of the New Left to public criticism.

Retreat Toward Anarchism

After Matvejevic, who moaned that same lamentation last year in the pages of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE and with the authentic bravado from some bad vaudeville operetta with a New Left libretto even went so far as to announce my intellectual death, I am now in a position of having to stress once again to Jaksic as well, like that devil woman in Glisic's short story "Ninety Years Later" who was the only one to remember the vampire and wolfman, and 10 people had to shout in her ear when they asked her about this, but she would only keep repeating "I can't hear anything you're saying, sonny"--that it is not a question of any sort of ethical "moral leap," but of the prosaic fact that the theoreticians of the New Left, taking creative Marxism (with or without quotation marks) as their point of departure, began more and more in the seventies to make a retreat toward anarchism, on the one hand, and toward opposition to the LCY "at any price" on the other. Jaksic, who confuses political differences with imputed "ethical incisions," and then waters down known facts into moralistic ones, as an apprentice for lifting imagined moral blemishes should be stuffed into that same ethical cleaning establishment which Predrag Matvejevic opened up last year in his writing, certainly so that under that forged

ethical signboard he could leave nothing untouched except his own fixed layers of morality from every possible source. After all, anyone who like a confused moralizing stutterer mixes up the gnosological and axiological concepts, who stares like Jaksic into the psychoanalytical mechanisms of "projecting his own subconscious as his opponent's consciousness"¹ (as elementary sources of all ideological mystifications), like the girl outside the brightly colored door of the show at the carnival, without understanding any of them at all, who sees the criticism of a platform which for more than a decade has been rushing into successive political failures (including this last one with the "public") as "shamelessness" and issues the advance judgment that the silly maintenance of that platform (like Jaksic's own under the guise of political rehabilitation of anarchism) as the greatest virtue and "consistency"--this man inescapably reminds one of Kadelj's idea that "a conscious enemy is no more dangerous than a fuzzy-headed writer who when he starts doesn't know how he will get out of his own labyrinth." We will not enter here into the question of the point on that scale where Jaksic is today, since ultimately this is a matter of his choice, and to that he is entitled. But what Jaksic is not entitled to is his awkward endeavor to attempt to carry out the rehabilitation of a way of thought as an authentic Marxist way of thought in our present condition in the wrappings of an academic debate about anarchism.

The "Leftwing Type"

In order to achieve this cloudy purpose, he must also first portray our party as a Stalinist party, in conformity with the basic propositions of those who think like him about socialist self-management and also about "anti-Stalinist Stalinism." How else is one to understand his last reference to my putting in quotes the epithet "radical," which the New Leftists always pin on themselves like a badge worn at the carnival when they call themselves Marxists: "Muhic puts the expression 'radical' in quotes to suit the Stalinist ideology that no one can be more radical than Stalin nor stand further to the left of the wise leader." Translated to suit our situation, this means: we are "radicals," while you, gentlemen, are Stalinists, and your place is, then, "to the right" of us, who are the "most leftwing" force of this society! We would scrupulously consent to Jaksic's "harmless fantasmagorias" (as Marx referred to this type of product of ideological consciousness as typically distorted) provided that we define the term "left" in its slang meaning of "awkward" or simply "disjoined" ("leftwing type," "leftwing school," and the like). Then Jaksic's term "would-be leftism" would glitter in its true light, and references to him as a "leftist intellectual" and as the self-styled "leftwing of our intelligentsia" would be fully articulated and would become a modifier with some substance. We are unable to give any more serious meaning to the word "left," at least in Jaksic's case.

The Deaf Old Ladies of "Radical" Criticism

Jaksic's subsequent step in presentation of New Left views as the only authentic Marxist views was taken in his stubborn effort to show that the authors of their outlook have been consistent from beginning to end and how the "change of direction" occurred exclusively on the "other side," i.e., on my side. In my polemics with Jaksic and the other deaf old women of our "radical" or "free-thinking" criticism I will say for the last time that in the mid-sixties, as a young worker in

intellectual life, I scrupulously held to philosophical innovations which were contributed by "creative Marxism" by contrast with the positivistic interpretations of Marx's doctrine. It is in that sense that I wrote about the books of certain people who were later New Leftists, and on that basis Matvejevic, Jakšić and the rest of that moralizing company stubbornly want to suggest to the public that I am stung by them like a cloak made of stinging nettles. As for its psychological and ethical features, I will again quote Krleža's unsurpassed statement: "There is in the world," Krleža writes, "an old maid kind of onanist, of moralistic semi-idiot, who are usually concerned with 'humanistic journalism' but actually should have been clergymen, idlers without any definite occupation who lament and complain about the question of murder from their provincial pulpit" ("Banket u Blitvi" [The Banquet in Blitva], Vol I and II, Sarajevo, 1973, p 30). If an intellectual idler like Jakšić, then, authentically absorbs himself in the "consistency" of his "radical-Marxist" colleagues, then he would have to discover that that consistency has actually existed only on one question--opposition to the LCY in all its (I repeat: all) theoretical and practical decisions regardless of what they might have been, on the anarchistic principle "it comes from the party, so it's no good." This anarchistic involution and abandonment of the political theory of Marxism (and within it of the theory of the Communist Party as the "party in the large historical context") were becoming increasingly evident in the beginning of the seventies, and then, at least in my judgment, in 1972 over the incident with the support of the "radical leftists" to our equally "radical right," they came to the point at which they could no longer survive. Consequently, all the unbeseeming attacks which began to be made on me from the "radical Marxist" loges after that year were only an expression of undisguised anger that someone (especially from the SR [Socialist Republic] Bosnia-Herzegovina, which up until that time--and often by them even today--was regarded as an intellectual colony "south of the Sava and Danube") had dared to question their self-seeking and self-styled leadership. From the standpoint of an objective observer, however, nothing that was especially dramatic had taken place.

A Moralistic Creation

From their common premises of "creative Marxism," (philosophical, I repeat, premises) the ideologues of the New Left eliminated Marx's theory of the party as time passed, while I remained within the framework of that theory. They adopted an anarchistic political program, and I the program of socialist self-management, which, to the horror of all the "radical critics," continued to be based on the vanguard role of the LCY.² The parting of the ways was also motivated by the fact that the "radical Marxists," led on by their anarchistic inspiration, began at exactly that time to identify criticism of Stalinism with criticism of our system, and that was an identification which, in spite of all the problems our society has encountered and encounters even today in its revolutionary construction, was in profound opposition to my deepest ethical and political conviction. So it is in that context that there emerged the accusative moralistic creation of Božidar Jakšić, one of the self-styled saints of the Day of Judgment and one of the malicious and dooms-saying prophets of an anarchistic apocalypse, who is so bold as to make a threat from his New Left pulpit with his right index finger, to impose his own and who knows whose moral laws and imperatives as imperatives, and to arrogantly tell me "you should have stayed in the same line if you wanted to be morally consistent." This is the message of that same "hero on the donkey" who right up until his departure for Belgrade amused the Sarajevo intellectual marketplace with his troubles of

getting into jail where no one pushed him, and who up until his own change of direction in 1968 would have taken even the lowest political office if there had just been anyone unserious enough to offer it to him.

"It Never Happened"

And finally, here is the passage in all of Jaksic's article that comes closest to burlesque: he says that in 1972 PRAXIS did not offer support to Dr Mihajlo Djuric and his nationalistic platform! These are arrogances of a kind that has few equals in our recent literature. This is as nonsensical as telling an uninformed man that man has not yet reached the moon. The paradox (and Jaksic's recklessness) are all the greater because in his article he clearly quotes Rudi Supek who on behalf of those who think like him wrote in PRAXIS that "Djuric did not engage in nationalistic activity, nor did he participate in any nationalistic movement"! Jaksic speaks about my "dimmed memory," but he himself forgets Djuric's appeals "to the Serbian people to rally" and his arguments about the "plundered Serbian people" which in World War II had been subjected to genocide, and now it was time to revive nationalistic enmity! And in general, what right has Jaksic to defend anyone's support for nationalism when he himself is dubious on this issue, to say the least. Let he himself recall how in the seventies, on the eve of the population census at that time, he carried on an intrigue for the "political forums to make helicopters available to Atif Purivatra so that three times a day he could make the rounds and convince people not to declare themselves as Yugoslavs." In so doing Jaksic unambiguously referred to preventing the identification of Moslems as a nationality, and his type of Yugoslavism is very well known from Rankovic's time.

I must bring this debate with Bozidar Jaksic, alias the "hero on the donkey," to an end (irrevocably this time). My answer to his trying once more at the end of his article to be witty and to write of me in the style of graveyard humor (again like Matvejevic) that "he was" is that he "never did exist," or that he has had only a tenuous existence, like the "runt that will always be a calf," as the folksaying goes about people of this kind.

Statement by OSLOBODJENJE Editorial Board

For the umpteenth time Bozidar Jaksic has in numerous newspapers been brandishing the datum that OSLOBODJENJE did not publish his response to the article of Dr Muhic which was published in our paper in January 1980. Jaksic, of course, finds the reasons for not publishing that article in the attitude taken by "official publications" toward him, toward his "political background," and in the existence of "double standards" toward authors.

The newspaper KNJIZEVNA REC has now joined in those charges with its commentary which, so that we will not be accused again of bias, we are reprinting insofar as it concerns us:

"The Sarajevo daily newspaper OSLOBODJENJE published in January 1980 a three-part article by Dr Fuad Muhic, a professor, in which he placed Bozidar Jaksic's statement in an academic meeting about anarchism in a political context. OSLOBODJENJE did not publish Bozidar Jaksic's response, but exactly 1 year later the Sarajevo

weekly newspaper SVIJET, on 27 January 1981, published a pamphleteering article by Professor Muhic entitled 'Hero on a Donkey,' which contained a number of personal insults, untruths and crude witticisms at Jaksic's expense. It is true that on 17 February 1981 SVIJET published B. Jaksic's brief response in which he referred to his unpublished response to OSLOBODJENJE. So that our readers can finally hear the 'other side,' we are publishing in this and our next issue the article of Dr Bozidar Jaksic entitled 'Muhic Against Muhic,' which is a response to Muhic's article in OSLOBODJENJE."

The concern of the editorial board of KNJIZEVNA REC about Bozidar Jaksic would in any case have been touching if the entire context in which it launched Jaksic's calumny had not been shot through with the suggestion that OSLOBODJENJE had prevented Bozidar Jaksic from being heard as the "other side" and that our newspaper has a double standard in its approach to authors. For all its delicate concern about the destiny of public dialogue in our community, the editorial board of KNJIZEVNA REC never for a moment thought at least of calling attention of its readers to the extreme bad taste of Jaksic's response.

That is, the editorial board of OSLOBODJENJE did not publish the response of Dr Bozidar Jaksic to the articles of Dr Fuad Muhic for the sole reason that in that article Dr Bozidar Jaksic strove to speak above all about the personality of Dr Fuad Muhic in a manner that falls below human decency in general and the decency of intellectuals in particular, while the response to the article of Dr Fuad Muhic in that "answer" was secondary, if it was there at all. The attitude of the editorial board of OSLOBODJENJE in this case, as in all others, is one of principle: it will not nor can it publish articles which constitute personal attacks (even though they be in the form of an intellectual polemic). Space for that purpose will not be available in OSLOBODJENJE either for Bozidar Jaksic nor for KNJIZEVNA REC nor for anyone else. In any case, we see from the quotation mentioned above that the editorial board of KNJIZEVNA REC is at least apparently opposed to personal insults, untruths and crude witticisms, as it has described certain articles, but only when they are addressed to Bozidar Jaksic, whom they are protecting, while it is bitterly appalled that OSLOBODJENJE did not publish Jaksic's low blows and slander at Muhic's expense.

KNJIZEVNA REC obviously would like to suggest to its readers that this kind of "devotion to principle" represents its own "devotion to free thought" by contrast with the nonexistence of that kind of approach in the editorial boards of "official newspapers," as is suggested in this reference to KNJIZEVNA REC. The nature of certain previous articles in that review incidentally opens up an opportunity for it sometimes to be referred to not only as the "newspaper of the literary youth of Serbia," but also as the newspaper of the literary marketplace.

FOOTNOTES

1. Jaksic, who does not understand these categories, is trying to be witty when he says that "Sarajevo now has still another psychoanalyst." Referring to his case, I might say that Belgrade has now still another runaway, but that in a qualitative sense Belgrade has not really gained anything, nor has Sarajevo

really lost anything. Incidentally, to illustrate "projection of one's own subconscious as an opponent's consciousness" we might cite to Jaksic what Djilas has written about Tito: a man who from the first showed a pathological desire for power, when he was unable to satisfy it, attributed that same lust for power to Tito as the basic motivation of his activity and the content of his consciousness, and on that trivial substitution of his own unconscious for Tito's consciousness he built up his entire construct about Tito as the "anti-Stalinist Stalin." How close this construct is to Jaksic's intellectual circle we have attempted to show in another place. If this example is not enough for Jaksic, then I can do no more, since I simply cannot find one that is simpler.

2. Dr Ljubomir Tadic has gone furthest in this involution with his view that abolishing the LCY is an essential precondition for development of true self-management (REVIJA ZA SOCIOLOGIJU, No 3-4, Zagreb, 1979, pp 5-29). My article about Ljubomir Tadic himself, published in OSLOBODJENJE on 25 March, will best show how reckless Jaksic is in his insinuations about my "ethical incisions." "Leaving to one side Tadic's reservations concerning Proudhon, one can say without reservation that in this article (in REVIJA ...--note inserted by Fuad Muhic) he has completed his involution from the brilliant Marxist theoretician of his Afterword to Marx's "Toward the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right" (1961) and the 1966 book "Poredak i sloboda" [Order and Freedom] to the incensed "unsparing critic of everything that exists" that he has been since 1968 and the ever more pronounced bent toward anarchistic political theory that imbues "Tradicija i revolucija" [Tradition and Revolution], to culminate in his views today concerning the "democratic alternative." As can be seen, even on this occasion I have not denied Lj. Tadic's contribution to our Marxist theory up to that stage to which it developed until it became exposed to the anarchistic innovation. Jaksic imputes to me similar acts of baseness with respect to S. Stojanovic (whose criticism of Stalinism I praised as constructive and interesting in 1970, but in 1972, following his article in PRAXIS, I refused to accept his identification of Stalinism and socialist self-management). He also refers to one of my judgments of D. Cosic dating from 1967. Can it be that Jaksic does not know that Cosic began his first open rightwing actions only in 1968, that is, after the judgments referred to were made? But, as it is so well put by the folksaying, there is no point throwing crumbs to a blind hen, just as it is vain to submit rational arguments to Jaksic, who has become blind.

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